commodity; and the goddess we adore, *Dea moneta*, queen mony, to whom we dayly offer sacrifice; which steers our hearts, hands, [a]affections, all—that most powerful goddess, by whom we are reared, depressed, elevated, [b]esteemed the sole commandress of our actions—for which we pray, run, ride, go, come, labour, and contend as fishes do for a crum that falleth into the water. It's not worth, vertue, (that's *bonum theatrale*) wisdome, valour, learning, honesty, religion, or any sufficiency, for which we are respected, but [c]mony, greatness, office, honour, authority. Honesty is accounted folly; knavery, policy; [d]men admired out of opinion, not as they are, but as they seem to be: such shifting, lying, cogging, plotting, counterplotting, temporizing, flattering, cozening, dissembling, [e]*that of necessity one must highly offend God, if he be conformable to the world*, (Cretizare cum Crete) *or else live in contempt, disgrace and misery*. One takes upon him temperance, holiness; another, austerity; a third, an affected kinde of simplicity; when as indeed he, and he, and he, and the rest, are [f]hypocrites, ambodexters, out-sides, so many turning pictures, a lion on the one side, a lamb on the other. How would Democritus have been affected to see these things?

To see a man turn himself into all shapes like a camelion, or, as Proteus, *omnia transformans sese in miracula rerum*, to act twenty parts and persons at once, for his advantage—to temporize and vary like Mercurie the planet, good with good, bad with bad; having a severall face, garb, and character, for every one he meets—of all religions, humours, inclinations—to fawn like a spaniel, *mentitis et mimicis obsequiis*, rage like a lion, bark like a cur, fight like a dragon, sting like a serpent, as meek as a lamb, and yet again grin like a tygre, weep like a crocodile, insult over some, and yet others domineer over him, here command, there crouch; tyrannize in one place, be baffled in another; a wise man at home, a fool abroad to make others merry.

To see so much difference betwixt words and deeds, so many parasanges betwixt tongue and heart—men, like stage-players, act variety of parts, [g]give good precepts to others to soar aloft, whilest they themselves grovel on the ground.

[a] Paucis carior est fides quam pecunia. Sallust. [b] Prima fere vota et cunctis, &c. [c] Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat. Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca, Tantum habet et fidei. [d] Non a peritis, sed ab ornatu et vulgi vocibus, habemur excellentes, Cardan. l. 2. de cons. [e] Perjurata suo postponit numina lucro Mercator.—Ut necessarium sit vel Deo displicere, vel ab hominibus contemni, vexari, negligi. [f] Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt. [g] Tragelapho similes vel Centauris, sursum homines, deorsum equi. [h] Præceptis suis cœlum promittunt, ipsi interim pulveris terreni vilia mancipia.

To see a man protest friendship, kiss his hand, [a] *quem mallet truncatum videre*, [b] smile with an intent to do mischiefe, or cozen him whom he salutes, [c] magnifie his friend unworthy with hyperbolicall elogiums—his enemy albeit a good man, to vilifie, and disgrace him, yea, all his actions, with the utmost livor and malice can invent.

To see a [d] servant able to buy out his master, him that carries the mace more worth than the magistrate; which Plato (*lib.* 11. *de leg.*) absolutely forbids, Epictetus abhors. An horse that tills the [e] land fed with chaff, an idle jade have provender in abundance; him that makes shooes go bare-foot himself, him that sells meat almost pined; a toiling drudge starve, a drone flourish.

To see men buy smoke for wares, castles built with fools heads, men like apes follow the fashions, in tires, gestures, actions: if the king laugh, all laugh;

> ——————[f] Rides? majore cachinno
> Concutitur: flet, si lacrymas conspexit amici.

[g] Alexander stooped; so did his courtiers: Alphonsus turned his head; and so did his parasites. [h] Sabina Poppæa, Nero's wife, wore amber-colour'd hair; so did all the Roman ladies in an instant; her fashion was theirs.

To see men wholly led by affection, admired and censured out of opinion without judgement: an inconsiderate multitude, like so many dogs in a village, if one bark, all bark without a cause: as fortunes fan turns, if a man be in favour, or commended by some great one, all the world applauds him; [i] if in disgrace, in an instant all hate him, and as at the sun when he is eclipsed, that erst took no notice, now gaze, and stare upon him.

To see a [k] man wear his brains in his belly, his guts in his head, an hundred oaks on his back, to devour an hundred oxen at a meale; nay more, to devour houses and towns, or as those anthropophagi, [l] to eat one another.

To see a man roll himself up, like a snow-ball, from base beggery to right worshipfull and right honourable titles, unjustly to

[a] Æneas Sylv. [b] *Arridere homines, ut sæviant*: blandiri ut fallant. Cyp. ad Donatum. [c] Love and hate are like the two ends of a perspective glass: the one multiplies; the other makes less. [d] Ministri locupletiores iis quibus ministratur; servus majores opes habens quam patronus. [e] Qui terram colunt, equi paleis pascuntur; qui otiantur, caballi avenâ saginantur: discalceatus discurrit, qui calceos aliis facit. [f] Juven. [g] Bodin. lib. 4. de repub. c. 6. [h] Plinius l. 37. c. 3. Capillos habuit succineos: exinde factum ut omnes puellæ Romanæ colorem illum affectarent. [i] Odit damnatos. Juv. [k] Agrippa ep. 28. l. 7. Quorum cerebrum est in ventre, ingenium in pedibus. [l] Psal. They eat up my people as bread

screw himself into honours and offices; another to starve his *genius*, damn his soule to gather wealth, which he shall not enjoy, which his prodigal [a]son melts and consumes in an instant.

To see the κακοζηλια of our times, a man bend all his forces, meanes, time, fortunes, to be a favourites favourites favourite, &c. a parasites parasites parasite, that may scorn the servile world, as having enough already.

To see an hirsute beggers brat, that lately fed on scraps, crept and whin'd, crying to all, and for an old jerkin ran of errands, now ruffle in silk and satten, bravely mounted, jovial and polite, now scorn his old friends and familiars, neglect his kindred, insult over his betters, domineer over all.

To see a schollar crouch and creep to an illiterate peasant for a meals meat; a scrivener better paid for an obligation, a faulkner receive greater wages, than a student; a lawyer get more in a day, than a philosopher in a year; better reward for an hour, than a schollar for a twelve moneths study; him that can [b]paint Thaïs, play on a fiddle, curl hair, &c. sooner get preferment than a philologer or a poet.

To see a fond mother, like Æsop's ape, hug her child to death, a [c]wittal wink at his wives honesty, and too perspicuous in all other affairs; one stumble at a straw, and leap over a block; rob Peter, and pay Paul; scrape unjust summs with one hand, purchase great mannors by corruption, fraud, and cozenage, and liberally to distribute to the poor with the other, give a remnant to pious uses, &c.—penny wise, pound foolish; blind men judge of colours; wise men silent, fools talk; [d]finde fault with others, and do worse themselves; [e]denounce that in publike which he doth in secret; and (which Aurelius Victor gives out of Augustus) severely censure that in a third, of which he is most guilty himself.

To see a poor fellow, or an hired servant, venture his life for his new master, that will scarce give him his wages at years end; a countrey colone toil and moil, till and drudge for a prodigal idle drone, that devours all the gain, or lasciviously consumes with phantasticall expences; a noble man in a bravado to encounter death, and, for a small flash of honour, to cast away himself; a worldling tremble at an executer, and yet not feare hell-fire; to wish and hope for immortality, desire to be

[a] Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior servata centum clavibus, et mero distinguet pavimentum superbis pontificum potiore cœnis, Hor. [b] Qui Thaïdem pingere, inflare tibiam, crispare crines, [c] Doctus spectare lacunar. [d] Tullius. Est enim proprium stultitiæ aliorum cernere vitia, oblivisci suorum. Idem Aristippus Charidemo apud Lucianum. Omnium stultitiæ cujusdam esse puto, &c. [e] Execrari publice quod occulte agat. Salvianus lib. de pro. Actes ulciscendis vitiis quibus ipse vehementer indulgeat.

happy, and yet by all meanes avoid death, a necessary passage to bring him to it.

To see a fool-hardy fellow, like those old Danes *qui decollari malunt quam verberari,* dye rather than be punished, in a sottish humour embrace death with alacrity, yet [a] scorn to lament his own sins and miseries, or his dearest friends departures.

To see wise men degraded, fools preferred, one govern towns and cities, and yet a silly woman over-rules him at home; command a province, and yet his own [b] servants or children prescribe lawes to him, as Themistocles son did in Greece; [c] *What I will* (said he) *my mother will, and what my mother will, my father doth.* To see horses ride in a coach, men draw it; dogs devour their masters; towres build masons; children rule; old men go to school; women wear the breeches; [d] sheep demolish towns, devour men, &c. and, in a word, the world turned upside downward. *O! viveret Democritus.*

[e] To insist in every particular, were one of Hercules labours; there's so many ridiculous instances, as motes in the sun. *Quantum est in rebus inane!* And who can speak of all? *Crimine ab uno disce omnes;* take this for a taste.

But these are obvious to sense, triviall and well known, easie to be discerned. How would Democritus have been moved, had he seen [f] the secrets of their hearts! If every man had a window in his breast, which Momus would have had in Vulcan's man, or (that which Tully so much wisht) it were written in every man's forehead, *Quid quisque de republicâ sentiret,* what he thought; or that it could be effected in an instant, which Mercurie did by Charon in Lucian, by touching of his eys, to make him discern *semel et simul rumores et susurros,*

> Spes hominum cæcas, morbos, votumque, labores,
> Et passim toto volitantes æthere curas—

> Blind hopes and wishes, their thoughts and affaires,
> Whispers and rumours, and those flying cares—

[a] Adamus eccl. hist cap. 212. Siquis damnatus fuerit, lætus esse gloria est; nam lacrymas et planctum cæteraque compunctionum genera quæ nos salubria censemus, ita abominantur Dani, ut nec pro peccatis nec pro defunctis amicis ulli flere liceat. [b] Orbi dat leges foris, vix famulum regit sine strepitu domi. [c] Quidquid ego volo, hoc vult mater mea, et quod mater vult, facit pater. [d] Oves, olim mite pecus, nunc tam indomitum et edax ut homines devorent, &c. Morus, Utop. lib. 1. [e] Diversos variis tribuit natura furores. [f] Democrit. ep. præd. Hos deierantes et potantes deprehendet, hos vomentes, illos litigantes, insidias molientes, suffragantes, venena miscentes, in amicorum accusationem subscribentes, hos gloriâ, illos ambitione, cupiditate, mente captos, &c.

that he could *cubiculorum obductas fores recludere, et secreta cordium penetrare*, (which [a]Cyprian desired) open doors and locks, shoot bolts, as Lucian's Gallus did with a feather of his tail; or Gyges invisible ring, or some rare perspective glass, or *otacousticon*, which would so multiply species, that a man might hear and see all at once (as [b]Martianus Capella's Jupiter did in a spear, which he held in his hand, which did present unto him all that was dayly done upon the face of the earth) observe cuckolds horns; forgeries of alchymists, the philosophers stone, new projectors, &c. and all those workes of darkness, foolish vowes, hopes, feares, and wishes, what a deal of laughter would it have afforded! He should have seen wind-mills in one mans head, an hornets nest in another. Or, had he been present with Icaromenippus in Lucian at Jupiter's whispering place, [c]and heard one pray for rain, another for faire weather; one for his wives, another for his fathers death, &c. *to ask that at God's hand, which they are abashed any man should hear*; how would he have been confounded! would he, think you, or any man else, say that these men were well in their wits?

Hæc sani esse hominis qui sanus juret Orestes?

Can all the hellebor in the Anticyræ cure these men? No, sure, [d]*an acre of hellebor will not do it.*

That which is more to be lamented, they are mad like Seneca's blind woman, and will not acknowledge, or [e]seek for any cure of it; for *pauci vident morbum suum, omnes amant.* If our [f]leg or arm offend us, we covet by all meanes possible to redress it; [g]and, if we labour of a bodily disease, we send for a physitian; but, for the diseases of the minde, we take no notice of them. Lust harrows us on the one side, envy, anger, ambition on the other. We are torn in pieces by our passions, as so many wild horses, one in disposition, another in habit; one is melancholy, another mad; [h]and which of us all seeks

[a]Ad Donat. ep. 2. lib. 1. O si posses in speculâ sublimi constitutus, &c. [b]Lib. 1. de nup. Philol. In quâ, quid singuli nationum populi quotidianis moribus agitarent, relucebat. [c]O Jupiter! contingat mihi aurum, hæreditas, &c. Multos da, Jupiter, annos! Dementia quanta est hominum! turpissima vota Dîis immurmurant: si quis admoverit aurem, conticescunt; et quod scire homines nolunt, Deo narrant. Senec. ep. 10. lib. 1. [d]Plautus, Menæch. Non potest hæc res hellebori jugere obtineri. [e]Eoque gravior morbus, quo ignotior periclitanti. [f]Quæ lædunt oculos, festinus demere; si quid Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum. Hor. [g]Si caput, crus dolet, brachium, &c. medicum accersimus, recte et honeste, si per etiam industria in animi morbis poneretur. Joh. Peletius Jesuita, lib. 2. de hum. affec. morborumque curâ. [h]Et quotusquisque tamen est, qui contra tot pestes medicum requirat, vel ægrotare se agnoscat? ebullit ira, &c. Et nos tamen ægros esse negamus. Incolumes medicum recusant.

for help, doth acknowledge his errour, or knows he is sick? As that stupid fellow put out the candle, because the biting fleas should not finde him; he shrouds himself in an unknown habit, borrowed titles, because no body should discern him. Every man thinks with himself, *egomet videor mihi sanus*, I am well, I am wise, and laughs at others. And 'tis a generall fault amongst them all, that [a] which our fore-fathers have approved, dyet, apparel, opinions, humours, customes, manners, we deride and reject in our time as absurd. [b] Old men account juniors all fools, when they are mere dizards; and (as, to sailers,

——terræque urbesque recedunt——

they move; the land stands still) the world hath much more wit; they dote themselves. Turkes deride us, we them; Italians Frenchmen, accounting them light headed fellows; the French scoffe again at Italians, and at their severall customes; Greeks have condemned all the world but themselves of barbarism; the world as much vilifies them now: we account Germans heavy, dull fellows, explode many of their fashions; they as contemptibly think of us: Spaniards laugh at all, and all again at them. So are we fools and ridiculous, absurd in our actions, carriages, dyet, apparel, customes and consultations; [c] we scoffe and point one at another, when as, in conclusion, all are fools, [d] *and they the veriest asses that hide their ears most.* A private man, if he be resolved with himself, or set on an opinion, accounts all ideots and asses that are not affected as he is,

[e]——(nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducit)

that are not so minded, [f] *(quodque volunt homines, se bene velle putant)* all fools that think not as he doth. He will not say with Atticus, *suam quisque sponsam, mihi meam*, let every man enjoy his own spouse; but his alone is faire, *suus amor*, &c. and scorns all in respect of himself, [g] will imitate none, hear none [h] but himself, as Pliny said, a law and example to himself. And that which Hippocrates, in his epistle to Dionysius, reprehended of old, is verified in our times, *Quisque in alio superfluum esse censet, ipse quod non habet, nec curat;* that which he hath not himself or doth not esteem, he accounts superfluity, an idle quality, a mere foppery in another; like Æsop's fox, when he had lost his tail, would have all his fellow foxes cut off theirs. The Chineses say, that we Euro-

[a] Præsens ætas stultitiam priscis exprobrat. Bud. de affec. lib. 5. [b] Senes pro stultis habent juvenes. Balth. Cast. [c] Clodius accusat mœchos. [d] Omnium stultissimi qui auriculas studiose tegunt. Sat. Menip. [e] Hor. Epist. 2. [f] Prosper. [g] Statim sapiunt, statim sciunt, neminem reverentur, neminem imitantur, ipsi sibi exemplo. Plin. ep. lib. 8. [h] Nulli alteri sapere concedit, ne desipere videatur. Agrip.

peans have one eye, they themselves two, all the world else is blind (though [a] Scaliger accounts them brutes too, *mierum pecus)*: so thou and thy sectaries are only wise, others indifferent; the rest, beside themselves, meer ideots and asses. Thus not acknowledging our own errours and imperfections, we securely deride others, as if we alone were free, and spectatours of the rest, accounting it an excellent thing, as indeed it is, *alienâ optimum frui insaniâ*, to make our selves merry with other mens obliquities, when as he himself is more faulty than the rest: *mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*: he may take himself by the nose for a fool; and, which one calls *maximum stultitiæ specimen*, to be ridiculous to others, and not to perceive or take notice of it, as Marsyas when he contended with Apollo, *non intelligens se deridiculo haberi*, saith [b] Apuleius; 'tis his own cause; he is a convict mad-man, as [c] Austin well infers: *In the eys of wise men and angels he seems like one that to our thinking walks with his heels upward.* So thou laughest at me, and I at thee, both at a third; and he returns that of the poet upon us again, [d] *Hei mihi insanire me aiunt, quum ipsi ultro insaniant.* We accuse others of madness, of folly, and are the veriest dizards our selves: for it is a great sign and property of a fool (which Eccl. 10. 3. points at), out of pride and self-conceit, to insult, vilifie, condemn, censure, and call other men fools *(Non videmus manticæ quod a tergo est)*, to tax that in others, of which we are most faulty; teach that which we follow not ourselves; for an inconstant man to write of constancy, a prophane liver prescribe rules of sanctity and piety, a dizard himself make a treatise of wisdome, or, with Sallust, to rail down-right at spoilers of countreys, and yet in [e] office to be a most grievous poller himself. This argues weakness, and is an evident sign of such parties indiscretion. [f] *Peccat uter nostrûm cruce dignius? Who is the fool now?* Or else peradventure in some places we are [g] all mad for company; and so 'tis not seen: *societas erroris et dementiæ pariter absurditatem et admirationem tollit.* 'Tis with us, as it was of old ([h] in Tullie's censure at least) with C. Fimbria in Rome, a bold, hair-brain'd, mad fellow, and so esteemed of all, such only excepted, that were as mad as himself: now in such a case there is no notice taken of it.

[a] Omnis orbis . . . . . a Persis ad Lusitaniam. [b] 2 Florid. [c] August. Qualis in oculis hominum qui inversis pedibus ambulat, talis in oculis sapientum et angelorum qui sibi placet, aut cui passiones dominantur. [d] Plautus, Menæchmi. [e] Governour of Africk by Cæsar's appointment. [f] Nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba. Sen. [g] Pro Roscio Amerino. Et, quod inter omnes constat, insanissimus, nisi inter eos, qui ipsi quoque insaniunt. [h] Necesse est cum insanientibus furere, nisi solus relinqueris. Petronius.

Nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.

When all are mad, where all are like opprest,
Who can discern one mad man from the rest?

But put the case they do perceive it and some one be manifestly convict of madness; [a] he now takes notice of his folly, be it in action, gesture, speech, a vain humour he hath in building, bragging, jangling, spending, gaming, courting, scribling, prating, for which he is ridiculous to others, [b] on which he dotes; he doth acknowledge as much: yet, with all the rhetorick thou hast, thou canst not so recall him, but, to the contrary, notwithstanding, he will persevere in his dotage. 'Tis *amabilis insania, et mentis gratissimus error*, so pleasing, so delicious, that he [c] cannot leave it. He knows his errour, but will not seek to decline it. Tell him what the event will be, beggery, sorrow, sickness, disgrace, shame, loss, madness; yet, [d] *an angry man will prefer vengeance, a lascivious his whore, a theef his booty, a glutton his belly, before his welfare.* Tell an Epicure, a covetous man, an ambitious man, of his irregular course; wean him from it a little, *(Pol! me occidistis, amici!)* he cryes anon, you have undone him; and, as [e] a *dog to his vomit*, he returns to it again: no perswasion will take place, no counsell: say what thou canst,

——Clames, licet, et mare cœlo
Confundas,——surdo narras:

demonstrate, as Ulysses did to [f] Elpenor and Gryllus and the rest of his companions *those swinish men*, he is irrefragable in his humour; he will be a hog still: bray him in a morter; he will be the same. If he be in an heresie, or some perverse opinion, setled as some of our ignorant papists are, convince his undertanding, shew him the severall follies and absurd fopperies of that sect, force him to say, *veris vincor*, make it as clear as the sun, [g] he will err still, peevish and obstinate as he is; and as he said, [h] *si in hoc erro, libenter erro, nec hunc errorem auferri mihi volo;* I will do as I have done, as my predecessours have done, [i] and as my friends now do: I will dote for company. Say now, are these men [k] mad or

[a] Quoniam non est genus unum stultitiæ, quâ me insanire putas? [b] Stultum me fateor, liceat concedere verum, Atque etiam insanum. Hor. [c] Odi; nec possum cupiens non esse quod odi. Ovid. Errore grato libenter omnes insanimus. [d] Amasiorum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, fur prædam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, &c. odimus hæc et accersimus. Cardan. l. 2. de Conso. [e] Prov. 26. 11. [f] Plutarch. Grylio. stulli homines, sic Clem. Alex. vo. [g] Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris. [h] Tully. [i] Malo cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire. [k] Qui inter hos enutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam qui in culinâ bene olere. Petron.

no? [a] *Heus, age responde!* are they ridiculous? *cedo quemvis arbitrum;* are they *sanæ mentis,* sober, wise, and discreet? have they common sense?

——— [b] uter est insanior horum?

I am of Democritus opinion, for my part; I hold them worthy to be laughed at; a company of brain-sick dizards, as mad as [c] Orestes and Athamas, that they may go *ride the asse,* and all sail along to the Anticyræ, in the *ship of fools,* for company together. I need not much labour to prove this which I say, otherwise than thus, make any solemn protestation, or swear; I think you will believe me without an oath: say at a word, are they fools? I refer it to you, though you be likewise fools and madmen your selves, and I as mad to ask the question; for what said our comical Mercurie?

[d] Justum ab injustis petere insipientia est.

I'll stand to your censure yet, what think you?

But, for as much as I undertook at first, that kingdomes, provinces, families, were melancholy as well as private men, I will examine them in particular; and that which I have hitherto dilated at random, in more general termes, I will particularly insist in, prove with more speciall and evident arguments, testimonies, illustrations, and that in briefe,

——— [e] Nunc accipe, quare
Desipiant omnes æque ac tu.

My first argument is borrowed from Solomon, an arrow drawn out his sententious quiver, Prov. 3. 7. *Be not wise in thine own eys.* And 26. 12. [f] *Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? more hope is of a fool than of him.* Isaiah pronounceth a woe against such men, (chap. 5. 21.) *that are wise in their own eys, and prudent in their own sight.* For hence we may gather, that it is a great offence, and men are much deceived that think too well of themselves, and an especial argument to convince them of folly. Many men (saith [g] Seneca) *had been without question wise, had they not had an opinion that they had attained to perfection of knowledge already, even before they had gone half way,* too forward, too ripe, *præproperi,* too quick and ready, [h] *cito prudentes, cito pii, cito mariti, cito patres, cito sacerdotes, cito omnis officii capaces et curiosi:* they had too good a conceit of themselves, and that marred all—of their wor[k],

[a] Persius. [b] Hor. 2. ser. [c] Vesanum exagitant pueri, innuptæque puellæ. Plautus. [d] Hor. l. 2. sat. 2. [e] Superbam stultitiam Plinius vocat. 7. ep. 21. Quod semel dixi, fixum ratumque sit. [f] Multi sapientes procul dubio fuissent, si se se non putâssent ad sapientiæ summum pervenisse. [g] Idem.

valour, skill, art, learning, judgement, eloquence, their good parts: all their geese are swans; and that manifestly proves them to be no better than *fools*. In former times they had but seven wise men; now you can scarce finde so many fools. Thales sent the golden *tripos*, which the fishermen found, and the oracle commanded to be [a] *given to the wisest*, to Bias, Bias to Solon, &c. If such a thing were now found, we should all fight for it, as the three goddesses did for the golden apple—we are so wise: we have women politicians, children metaphysitians: every silly fellow can square a circle, make perpetual motions, find the philosophers stone, interpret Apocalypsis, make new theoricks, a new systeme of the world, new logick, new philosophy, &c. *Nostra utique regio*, saith [b] Petronius, *our countrey is so full of deified spirits, divine soules, that you may sooner finde a God than a man amongst us;* we think so well of our selves, and that is an ample testimony of much folly.

My secund argument is grounded upon the like place of Scripture, which, though before mention'd in effect, yet for some reasons is to be repeated (and, by Plato's good leave, I may do it: [c] δις το καλον ῥηθεν ουδεν βλαπτει) *Fools*, (saith David) *by reason of their transgressions*, &c. Psal. 107. 17. Hence Musculus inferrs, all transgressours must needs be fools. So we read Rom. 2. *Tribulation and anguish on the soule of every man that doth evil;* but all do evil. And Isai. 65. 14. *My servants shall sing for joye, and* [d] *ye shall crye for sorrow of heart, and vexation of minde.* 'Tis ratified by the common consent of all philosophers. *Dishonesty* (saith Cardan) *is nothing else but folly and madness.* [e] *Probus quis nobiscum vivit?* Shew me an honest man. *Nemo malus, qui non stultus:* 'tis Fabius aphorism to the same end. If none honest, none wise, then all fools. And well may they be so accounted: for who will account him otherwise, *qui iter adornat in occidentem, quum properaret in orientem?* that goes backward all his life, westward, when he is bound to the east? or holds him a wise man (saith [f] Musculus) *that prefers momentany pleasures to eternity, that spends his masters goods in his absence, forthwith to be condemned for it? Necquidquam sapit, qui sibi non sapit.* Who will say that a sick man is wise, that eats and drinks to overthrow the temperature of his body? Can you account him

[a] Plutarchus, Solone. Detur sapientiori. [b] Tam præsentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis Deum quam hominem invenire. [c] Pulchrum bis dicere non nocet. [d] Malefactors. [e] Who can finde a faithful man? Prov. 20. 6. [f] In Psalm. 49. Qui præfert momentanea sempiternis, qui dilapidat heri absentis bona, mox in jus vocandus et damnandus.

wise or discreet that would willingly have his health, and yet will do nothing that should procure or continue it? [a] Theodoret, (out of Plotinus the Platonist) *holds it a ridiculous thing for a man to live after his own lawes, to do that which is offensive to God, and yet to hope that he should save him; and, when he voluntarily neglects his own safety, and contemns the meanes, to think to be delivered by another.* Who will say these men are wise?

A third argument may be derived from the precedent. [b] All men are carried away with passion, discontent, lust, pleasures, &c. They generally hate those vertues they should love, and love such vices they should hate. Therefore more than melancholy, quite mad, bruit beasts, and void of reason, (so Chrysostome contends) *or rather dead and buried alive*, as [c] Philo Judæus concludes it for a certainty, *of all such that are carried away with passions, or labour of any disease of the minde. Where is feare and sorrow*, there ([d] Lactantius stifly maintains) *wisdome cannot dwell.*

——qui cupiet, metuet quoque porro.
Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.

Seneca and the rest of the Stoicks are of opinion, that, where is any the least perturbation, wisdome may not be found. *What more ridiculous*, (as [e] Lactantius urgeth) than to hear how Xerxes whipped the Hellespont, threatned the mountain Athos, and the like? To speak *ad rem*, who is free from passion? [f] *Mortalis nemo est, quem non attingat dolor, morbusve*, (as [g] Tully determines out of an old poem) no mortall men can avoid sorrow and sickness; and sorrow is an unseparable companion of melancholy. [h] Chrysostome pleads farther yet, that they are more than mad, very beasts, stupified, and void of common sense: *for how* (saith he) *shall I know thee to be a man, when thou kickest like an asse, neighest like an horse after women, ravest in lust like a bull, ravenest like a bear, stingest like a scorpion, rakest like a wolfe,*

[a] Perquam ridiculum est homines ex animi sententiâ vivere, et, quæ Dii ingrata sunt, exequi, et tamen a solis Diis velle salvos fieri, quum propriæ salutis curam abjecerint. Theod. c. 6. de provid. lib. de curat. Græc. affect. [b] Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus, &c. Hor. 2. ser. 7. [c] Conclus. lib. de vic. offer. Certum est animi morbis laborantes pro mortuis censendos. [d] Lib. de sap. Ubi timor adest, sapientia adesse nequit. [e] Quid insanius Xerxe Hellespontum verberante? &c. [f] Eccius. 21. 12. Where is bitterness, there is no understanding. Prov. 12. 16. An angry man is a fool. [g] 3 Tusc. Injuria in sapientem non cadit. [h] Hom. 6. in 2 Epist. ad Cor. Hominem te agnoscere nequeo, cum tamquam asinus recalcitres, lascivias ut taurus, hinnias ut equus post mulieres, ut ursus ventri indulgeas, quum rapias ut lupus, &c. At (inquis) formam hominis habeo. Id magis terret, quum feram humanâ specie videre me putem.

as subtile as a fox, as impudent as a dog? Shall I say thou art a man, that hast all the symptomes of a beast? How shall I know thee to be a man? By thy shape? That affrights me more, when I see a beast in likeness of a man.

[a] Seneca calls that of Epicurus, *magnificam vocem*, an heroicall speech, *a fool still begins to live*, and accounts it a filthy lightness in men, every day to lay new foundations of their life: but who doth otherwise? One travels; another builds; one for this, another for that business; and old folkes are as far out as the rest; *O dementem senectutem!* Tully exclaims. Therefore yong, old, middle age, all are stupid, and dote.

[b] Æneas Sylvius, amongst many others, sets down three speciall wayes to finde a fool by. He is a fool that seeks that he cannot finde: he is a fool that seeks that, which being found, will do him more harm than good: he is a fool, that, having variety of wayes to bring him to his journeys end, takes that which is worst. If so, me thinks most men are fools. Examine their courses, and you shall soon perceive what dizards and mad-men the major part are.

Beroaldus will have drunkards, afternoon-men, and such as more than ordinarily delight in drink, to be mad. The first pot quencheth thirst (so Panyasis the poet determines in Athenæus): *secunda Gratiis, Horis, et Dionysio*—the secund makes merry: the third for pleasure: *quarta ad insaniam*, the fourth makes them mad. If this position be true, what a catalogue of mad-men shall we have! what shall they be that drink four times four? *Nonne supra omnem furorem, supra omnem insaniam, reddunt insanissimos?* I am of his opinion, they are more than mad, much worse than mad.

The [c] Abderites condemned Democritus for a mad-man, because he was sometimes sad, and sometimes again profusely merry. *Hac patriâ* (saith Hippocrates) *ob risum furere et insanire dicunt:* his countrey-men hold him mad, because he laughs; [d] and therefore *he desires him to advise all his friends at Rhodes, that they do not laugh too much, or be over sad.* Had those Abderites been conversant with us, and but seen what [e] fleering and grinning there is in this age, they would certainly have concluded, we had been all out of our wits.

[a] Epist. l. 2. 15. Stultus semper incipit vivere. Fœda hominum levitas! nova quotidie fundamenta vitæ ponere, novas spes, &c. [b] De curial. miser. Stultus, qui quærit quod nequit invenire, stultus qui quærit quod nocet inventum, stultus qui cum plures habet calles, deteriorem deligit. Mihi videntur omnes deliri, amentes, &c. [c] Ep. Damageto. [d] Amicis nostris Rhodi dicito, ne nimium rideant, aut nimium tristes sint. [e] Per multum risum poteris cognoscere stultum. Offic. 3. c. 9.

Aristotle, in his Ethicks, holds, *felix idemque sapiens*, to be wise and happy, are reciprocal termes. *Bonus idemque sapiens honestus.* 'Tis [a] Tullie's paradox: *wise men are free, but fools are slaves:* liberty is a power to live according to his own lawes, as we will ourselves. Who hath this liberty? Who is free?

——— sapiens sibique imperiosus,
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent;
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, et in seipso totus teres atque rotundus.

He is wise that can command his own will,
Valiant and constant to himself still,
Whom poverty, nor death, nor bands can fright,
Checks his desires, scorns honours, just and right.

But where shall such a man be found? if no where, then *e diametro*, we all are slaves, senseless, or worse. *Nemo malus felix.* But no man is happy in this life, none good; therefore no man wise.

[c] Rari quippe boni——

For one vertue, you shall find ten vices in the same party—*pauci Promethei, multi Epimethei.* We may peradventure usurp the name, or attribute it to others for favour, as Carolus Sapiens, Philippus Bonus, Ludovicus Pius, &c. and describe the properties of a wise man, as Tully doth an oratour, Xenophon Cyrus, Castilio a courtier, Galen temperament; an aristocracy is described by politicians. But where shall such a man be found?

Vir bonus et sapiens, qualem vix repperit unum
Millibus e multis hominum consultus Apollo.

A wise, a good man in a million,
Apollo consulted could scarce finde one.

A man is a miracle of himself: but Trismegistus adds, *maximum miraculum homo sapiens:* a wise man is a wonder: *multi thyrsigeri, pauci Bacchi.*

Alexander, when he was presented with that rich and costly casket of king Darius, and every man advised him what to put in it, he reserved it to keep Homer's works, as the most precious jewell of humane wit: and yet [d] Scaliger upbraids Homer's Muse, *nutricem insanæ sapientiæ*, a nursery of madness, [e] impudent as a court lady, that blushes at nothing. Jacobus Micyllus, Gilbertus Cognatus, Erasmus, and almost

[a] Sapientes liberi, stulti servi. Libertas est potestas, &c. [b] Hor. 2. ser. 7.
[c] Juven. [d] Hypercrit. [e] Ut mulier aulica nullius pudens.

all posterity, admire Lucian's luxuriant wit; yet Scaliger rejects him in his censure, and calls him the Cerberus of the Muses. Socrates, whom all the world so much magnified, is, by Lactantius and Theodoret, condemned for a fool. Plutarch extolls Seneca's wit beyond all the Greeks—*nulli secundus*: yet [a]Seneca saith of himself, *when I would solace my self with a fool, I reflect upon my self; and there I have him.* Cardan, in his sixteenth book of Subtilties, reckons up twelve supereminent, acute philosophers, for worth, subtilty, and wisdome—Archimedes, Galen, Vitruvius, Archytas Tarentinus, Euclid, Geber, that first inventer of algebra, Alkindus the mathematician, both Arabians, with others. But his *triumviri terrarum*, far beyond the rest, are Ptolemæus, Plotinus, Hippocrates. Scaliger (*exercitat.* 224) scoffes at this censure of his, calls some of them carpenters, and mechanicians: he makes Galen *fimbriam Hippocratis*, a skirt of Hippocrates: and the said [b]Cardan himself elsewhere condemns both Galen and Hippocrates for tediousness, obscurity, confusion. Paracelsus will have them both meer ideots, infants in physick and philosophy. Scaliger and Cardan admire Suisset the calculator, *qui pene modum excessit humani ingenii;* and yet [c]Lud. Vives calls them *nugas Suisseticas:* and Cardan, opposite to himself in another place, contemns those antients in respect of times present, [d]*majoresque nostros, ad præsentes collatos, juste pueros appellari.* In conclusion, the said [e]Cardan and Saint Bernard will admit none into this catalogue of wise men, [f]but only prophets and apostles:—how they esteem themselves, you have heard before. We are worldly-wise, admire our selves, and seek for applause: but hear Saint [g]Bernard, *quanto magis foras es sapiens, tanto magis intus stultus efficeris, &c. in omnibus es prudens, circa teipsum insipiens:* the more wise thou art to others, the more fool to thy self. I may not deny but that there is some folly approved, a divine fury, a holy madness, even a spiritual drunkenness in the saints of God themselves: *Sanctam insaniam* Bernard calls it, (though not, as blaspheming [h]Vorstius would inferr it as a passion incident to God himself, but) familiar to good men, as that of Paul, 2 Cor. *he was a fool, &c.* and Rom. 9. he wisheth himself *to be anathematized for them.* Such is that drunkenness which Ficinus speaks of, when the

[a] Epist. 33. Quando fatuo delectari volo, non est longè quærendus; me video. [b] Primo contradicentium. [c] Lib. de causis corrupt. artium. [d] Actione ad subtil. in Scal. fol. 1226. [e] Lib. 1. de sap. [f] Vide, miser homo, quia totum est vanitas, totum stultitia, totum demontia, quidquid facis in hoc mundo, præter hoc solum quod propter Deum facis. Ser. de miser. hom. [g] In 2 Platonis, dial. 1. de justo. [h] Dum iram et odium in Deo revera ponit.

soule is elevated and ravished with a divine taste of that heavenly nectar, which the poets deciphered by the sacrifice of Dionysius, and in this sense, with the poet, [a] *insanire lubet:* as Austin exhorts us, *ad ebrietatem se quisque paret;* let's all be mad and [b] drunk. But we commonly mistake and go beyond our commission; we reel to the opposite part; [c] we are not capable of it; [d] and, as he said of the Greeks, *Vos Græci semper pueri, vos Britanni, Galli, Germani, Itali, &c.* you are a company of fools.

Proceed now *a partibus ad totum*, or from the whole to parts, and you shall finde no other issue. The parts shall be sufficiently dilated in this following preface. The whole must needs follow by a *sorites* or induction. Every multitude is mad, [e] *bellua multorum capitum*, precipitate and rash, without judgement, *stultum animal*, a roaring rout. [f] Roger Bacon proves it out of Aristotle—*vulgus dividi in oppositum contra sapientes: quod vulgo videtur verum, falsum est;* that which the commonalty accounts true, is most part false; they are still opposite to wise men; but all the world is of this humour *(vulgus)*; and thou thyself art *de vulgo*, one of the commonalty; and he, and he; and so are all the rest; and therefore (as Phocion concludes) to be approved in nought you say or do, meer ideots and asses. Begin then where you will, go backward or forward, choose out of the whole pack, wink and choose; you shall find them all alike—*never a barrel better herring.*

Copernicus, Atlas his successour, is of opinion, the earth is a planet, moves and shines to others, as the moon doth to us. Digges, Gilbert, Keplerus, Origanus, and others, defend this hypothesis of his in sober sadness, and that the moon is inhabited. If it be so that the earth is a moon, then are we also giddy, vertiginous, and lunatick, within this sublunary maze.

I could produce such arguments till dark night. If you should hear the rest,

Ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo:

but, according to my promise, I will descend to particulars. This melancholy extends it self not to men only, but even to vegetalls and sensibles. I speak not of those creatures which are Saturnine, melancholy by nature, (as lead, and such like minerals, or those plants, rue, cypress, &c. and hellebor

[a] Virg. 1. Ecl. 3. [b] Ps. inebriabuntur ab ubertate domûs. [c] In Psal. 104. Aust. [d] In Platonis Tim. sacerdos Ægyptius. [e] Hor. vulgus insanum. [f] Paret ea divisio probabilis, &c. ex Arist. Top. lib. 1. c. 8. Rog. Bac. Epist. de secret. art. et nat. c. 8. non est judicium in vulgo.

it self, of which [a]Agrippa treats, fishes, birds, and beasts, hares, conies, dormice, &c. owles, bats, night-birds) but that artificiall, which is perceived in them all. Remove a plant; it will pine away; which is especially perceived in date trees, as you may read at large in Constantine's husbandry—that antipathy betwixt the vine and the cabbage, wine and ovl. Put a bird in a cage; he will dye for sullenness; or a beast in a pen, or take his yong ones or companions from him; and see what effect it will cause. But who perceives not these common passions of sensible creatures, feare, sorrow, &c.? Of all other, dogs are most subject to this malady, in so much, some hold they dream as men do, and, through violence of melancholy, run mad. I could relate many stories of dogs, that have dyed for griefe, and pined away for loss of their masters; but they are common in every [b]author.

Kingdomes, provinces, and politick bodies, are likewise sensible and subject to this disease, as [c]Boterus, in his Politicks, hath proved at large. *As, in humane bodies,* (saith he) *there be divers alterations proceeding from humours, so there be many diseases in a common-wealth, which do as diversly happen from severall distempers,* as you may easily perceive by their particular symptomes. For where you shall see the people civil, obedient to God and princes, judicious, peaceable and quiet, rich, fortunate, [d]and flourish, to live in peace, in unity, and concord, a countrey well tilled, many fair-built and populous cities, *ubi incolæ nitent,* as old [e]Cato said, the people are neat, polite, and terse, *ubi bene, beateque vivunt,* (which our politicians make the chiefe end of a common-wealth; and which [f]Aristotle, Polit. lib. 3. cap. 4. calls *commune bonum,* Polybius, lib. 6. *optabilem et selectum statum,*) that countrey is free from melancholy; as it was in Italy in the time of Augustus, now in China, now in many other flourishing kingdomes of Europe. But whereas you shall see many discontents, common grievances, complaints, poverty, barbarism, beggery, plagues, wars, rebellions, seditions, mutinies, contentions, idleness, ryot, epicurism, the land lye untilled, waste, full of bogs, fens, desarts, &c. cities decayed, base and poor towns, villages depopulated, the people squalid, ugly, uncivill; that kingdome, that countrey, must needs be discontent, melancholy, hath a sick body, and had need to be reformed.

[a] De occult. Philosoph. l. 1. c. 25. et 19. ejusd. 1 Lib. 10. cap. 4. [b] See Lipsius, epist. [c] De politiâ illustrium, lib. 1. cap. 4. ut in humanis corporibus variæ, accidunt mutationes corporis, animique, sic in republicâ, &c. [d] Ubi reges philosophantur. Plato. [e] Lib. de re rust. [f] Vel publicam utilitatem. Salus publica suprema lex esto. Beata civitas, non, ubi pauci beati, sed tota civitas beata. Plato, quarto de repub.

Now that cannot well be effected, till the causes of these maladies be first removed, which commonly proceed from their own default, or some accidentall inconvenience; as to be site in a bad clime, too far north, steril, in a barren place, as the desart of Libya, desarts of Arabia, places void of waters, as those of Lop and Belgian in Asia, or in a bad ayr, as at Alexandretta, Bantam, Pisa, Durazzo, St. John de Ullua, &c. or in danger of the seas continual inundations, as in many places of the Low-Countreys and elsewhere, or near some bad neighbours, as Hungarians to Turkes, Podolians to Tartars, or almost any bordering countreys, they live in feare still, and, by reason of hostile incursions, are oftentimes left desolate. So are cities by reason [a] of wars, fires, plagues, inundations, [b] wild beasts, decay of trades, barred havens, the seas violence, as Antwerp may witness of late, Syracuse of old, Brundusium in Italy, Rhye and Dover with us, and many that at this day suspect the seas fury and rage, and labour against it, as the Venetians to their inestimable charge. But the most frequent maladies are such as proceed from themselves, as, first, when religion and God's service is neglected, innovated, or altered—where they do not feare God, obey their prince—where atheism, epicurism, sacrilege, simony, &c. and all such impieties are freely committed—that countrey cannot prosper. When Abraham came to Gerar, and saw a bad land, he said, sure the feare of God was not in that place. [c] Cyprian Echovius, a Spanish chorographer, above all other cities of Spain, commends Borcino, *in which there was no begger, no man poor*, &c. *but all rich and in good estate:* and he gives the reason, because *they were more religious than their neighbours.* Why was Israel so often spoyled by their enemies, led into captivity, &c. but for their idolatry, neglect of God's word, for sacrilege, even for one Achan's fault? And what shall we expect, that have such multitudes of Achans, church-robbers, simoniacal patrons, &c.? how can they hope to flourish, that neglect divine duties, that live, most part, like Epicures?

Other common grievances are generally noxious to a body politick; alteration of lawes and customes, breaking privileges, generall oppressions, seditions, &c. observed by [d] Aristotle, Bodin, Boterus, Junius, Arniscus, &c. I will only point at some of the chiefest. [e] *Impotentia gubernandi, ataxia,* con-

[a] Mantua, væ! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ. [b] Interdum a feris, ut olim Mauritania, &c. [c] Deliciis Hispaniæ An. 1604. Nemo malus, nemo pauper; optimus quisque atque ditissimus. Pie, sancteque vivebant; summâque cum veneratione et timore, divino cultui, sacrisque rebus, incumbebant. [d] Polit. lib. 5. c. 3. [e] Boterus polit. lib. 1. c. 1. Cum nempe princeps rerum gerendarum imperitus, segnis, oscitans, suique muneris immemor, aut fatuus est.

fusion, ill government, which proceeds from unskilful, slothful, griping, covetous, unjust, rash, or tyrannizing magistrates, when they are fools, ideots, children, proud, wilful, partial, undiscreet, oppressours, giddy heads, tyrants, not able, or unfit to manage such offices. [a]Many noble cities and flourishing kingdomes by that meanes are desolate; the whole body groans under such heads; and all the members must needs be misaffected, as at this day those goodly provinces in Asia Minor, &c. groan under the burthen of a Turkish government; and those vast kingdomes of Muscovia, Russia, [b]under a tyrannizing duke. Who ever heard of more civil and rich populous countreys than those of Greece, Asia Minor, *abounding with all* [c]*wealth, multitude of inhabitants, force, power, splendour, and magnificence?* and that miracle of countreys, [d]the Holy Land, that, in so small a compass of ground, could maintain so many towns, cities, produce so many fighting men? Egypt another Paradise, now barbarous and desart, and almost waste, by the despoticall government of an imperious Turk, *intolerabili servitutis jugo premitur* ([e]one saith): not only fire and water, goods or lands, *sed ipse spiritus ab insolentissimi victoris pendet nutu*; such is their slavery, their lives and soules depend upon his insolent will and command—a tyrant that spoyles all wheresoever he comes; insomuch that an [f]historian complains, *if an old inhabitant should now see them, he would not know them; if a traveller, or stranger, it would grieve his heart to behold them—whereas* ([g]Aristotle notes) *novæ exactiones, nova onera imposita*, new burdens and exactions dayly come upon them, (like those of which Zosimus, lib. 2.) so grievous, *ut viri uxores, patres filias prostituerent, ut exactoribus e quæstu*, &c. they must needs be discontent; *hinc civitatum gemitus et ploratus*, as [h]Tully holds; hence come those complaints and tears of cities, *poor, miserable, rebellious, and desperate subjects*, as [i]Hippolytus adds: and, [k]as a judicious countrey-man of ours observed not long since in a survey of that great Duchy of Tuscany, the people lived much grieved and discontent, as appeared by their manifold and manifest complainings in that kinde; *that the state was like a sick body which had lately taken physick, whose humours are not yet well setled, and weakened so much by purging, that nothing was left but melancholy.*

[a] Non viget respublica cujus caput infirmatur. Salisburiensis, c. 22. [b] See D. Fletcher's relation, and Alexander Gagninus history. [c] Abundans omni divitiarum affluentiâ, incolarum multitudine, splendore, ac potentiâ. [d] Not above 200 miles in length, 60 in breadth, according to Adricomius. [e] Romulus Amasæus. [f] Sabellicus. Si quis incola vetus, non agnosceret; si quis peregrinus, ingemisceret. [g] Polit. lib. 5. c. 6. Crudelitas principum, impunitas scelerum, violatio legum, peculatus pecuniæ publicæ, &c. [h] Epist. [i] De inerem. urb. cap. 20. Subditi, miseri, rebelles, desperati, &c. [k] R. Dallington, 1596. conclusio libri.

Whereas the princes and potentates are immoderate in lust, hypocrites, Epicures, of no religion, but in shew—*Quid hypocrisi fragilius?* what so brittle and unsure? what sooner subverts their estates, than wandring and raging lusts on their subjects wives, daughters? to say no worse. They that should *facem præferre*, lead the way to all vertuous actions, are the ringleaders oftentimes of all mischiefe and dissolute courses; and by that meanes their countreys are plagued, [a] *and they themselves often ruined, banished or murdered by conspiracy of their subjects*, as Sardanapalus was, Dionysius junior, Heliogabalus, Periander, Pisistratus, Tarquinius, Timocrates, Childericus, Appius Claudius, Andronicus, Galeacius Sforsia, Alexander Medices, &c.

Whereas the princes or great men are malicious, envious, factious, ambitious, emulatours, they tear a common-wealth asunder, as so many *Guelfes* and *Gibellines*, disturb the quietness of it, [b] and, with mutual murders, let it bleed to death. Our histories are too full of such barbarous inhumanities, and the miseries that issue from them.

Whereas they be like so many horse-leeches, hungry, griping, corrupt, [c] covetous, *avaritiæ mancipia*, ravenous as wolves, (for, as Tully writes, *qui præest, prodest; et qui pecudibus præest, debet eorum utilitati inservire)* or such as preferr their private before the publike good (for, as [d] he said long since, *res privatæ publicis semper officere)*—or whereas they be illiterate, ignorant, empiricks in policy, *ubi deest facultas,* [e] *virtus, (*Aristot. *pol. 5. cap. 8.) et scientia,* wise only by inheritance, and in authority by birth-right, or for their wealth and titles—there must needs be a fault, [f] a great defect, because, as an old philosopher affirms, such men are not alwayes fit—*of an infinite number, few alone are senatours; and of those few, fewer good; and of that small number of honest, good, and noble men, few that are learned, wise, discreet, and sufficient, able to discharge such places*—it must needs turn to the confusion of a state.

For, as the [g] princes are, so are the people; *qualis rex,*

[a] Botetus. lib. 9. c. 4. Polit. Quo fit ut aut rebus desperatis exulent, aut conjuratione subditorum crudelissime tandem trucidentur. [b] Mutuis odiis et cædibus exhausti, &c. [c] Lucra ex malis, sceleratisque casibus. [d] Sallust. [e] For most part, we mistake the name of politicians, accounting such as read Machiavel and Tacitus, great statesmen, that can dispute of political precepts, supplant and overthrow their adversaries, enrich themselves, get honour, dissemble. But what is this to the *bene esse*, or preservation of a common-wealth? [f] Imperium sua pte sponte corruit. [g] Apul. Prim. Flor. Ex innumerabilibus, pauci senatores genere nobiles; e consularibus pauci boni; e bonis adhuc pauci eruditi. [h] Non solum vitia concipiunt ipsi principes, sed etiam infundunt in civitatem; plusque exemplo, quam peccato, nocent. Cic. 1. de legibus.

talis grex: and, which [a]Antigonus right well said of old, *qui Macedoniæ regem erudit, omnes etiam subditos erudit*, he that teacheth the king of Macedon, teacheth all his subjects, is a true saying still.

> For princes are the glass, the school, the book,
> Where subjects eys do learn, do read, do look.
>
> ——————Velocius et citius nos
> Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
> Cum subeant animos auctoribus——————

their examples are soonest followed, vices entertained: if they be prophane, irreligious, lascivious, riotous, Epicures, factious, covetous, ambitious, illiterate, so will the commons most part be, idle, unthrifts, prone to lust, drunkards, and therefore poor and needy (ἡ πενια στασιν ἐμποιει, και κακουργιαν, for poverty begets sedition and villany) upon all occasions ready to mutiny and rebell, discontent, still complaining, murmuring, grudging, apt to all outrages, thefts, treasons, murders, innovations, in debt, shifters, cozeners, outlawes, *profligatæ famæ ac vitæ*. It was an old [b]politicians aphorism, *they that are poor and bad, envy rich, hate good men, abhor the present government, wish for a new, and would have all turned topsie turvy*. When Catiline rebelled in Rome, he got a company of such debauched rogues together: they were his familiars and coadjutors; and such have been your rebels, most part, in all ages —Jack Cade, Tom Straw, Kette, and his companions.

Where they be generally riotous and contentious, where there be many discords, many lawes, many law-suits, many lawyers, and many physitians, it is a manifest sign of a distempered, melancholy state, as [c]Plato long since maintained: for, where such kinde of men swarm, they will make more work for themselves, and that body politick diseased, which was otherwise sound—a general mischiefe in these our times, an unsensible plague, and never so many of them; *which are now multiplyed* (saith Mat. Geraldus, [d]a lawyer himself,) *as so many locusts, not the parents, but the plagues of the country, and, for the most part, a supercilious, bad, covetous, litigious generation of men*—[e]*crumenimulga natio, &c.* a purse-milking nation, a clamorous company, gowned vultures, [f]*qui*

[a] Epist. ad Zen. Juven. Sat 4. Paupertas seditionem gignit et maleficium. Arist. pol. 2. c. 7. [b] Sallust. Semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident; veteres mirere; nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia petunt. [c] De legibus. Profligatæ in repub. disciplinæ est indicium jurisperitorum numerus, et medicorum copia. [d] In præf. stud. juris. Multiplicantur nunc in terris, ut locustæ, non patriæ parentes, sed pestes, pestimi homines, majore ex parte supercilios, contentiosi, &c.—licitum latrocinium exercent. [e] Donat. apud Lucretium. Importuna turba, vultures togati. [f] Barc. Argen.

ex injuriâ vivunt et sanguine civium, theeves and seminaries of discord, worse than any pollers by the high way side, *auri accipitres, auri exterebronides, pecuniarum hamiolæ, quadruplatores, curiæ harpagones, fori tintinnabula, monstra hominum, mangones, &c.* that take upon them to make peace, but are indeed the very disturbers of our peace, a company of irreligious harpyes, scraping, griping catch-poles (I mean our common hungry petty-foggers, *rabulas forenses*—love and honour, in the mean time, all good lawes, and worthy lawyers, that are so many [a]oracles and pilots of a well governed common-wealth) without art, without judgement, that do more harm, as [b]Livy said, *quam bella externa, fames, morbive*, than sickness, wars, hunger, diseases; *and cause a most incredible destruction of a common-wealth*, saith [c]Sesellius, a famous civilian sometimes in Paris. As ivy doth by an oke, imbrace it so long, until it hath got the heart out of it, so do they by such places they inhabit: no counsell at all, no justice, no speech to be had, *nisi eum præmulseris*: he must be fed still, or else he is as mute as a fish; better open an oyster without a knife. *Experto crede*, (saith [d]Salisburiensis): *in manus eorum millies incidi; et Charon immitis, qui nulli pepercit unquam, his longè clementior est—I speak out of experience; I have been a thousand times amongst them; and Charon himself is more gentle than they*: [e]*he is contented with his single pay; but they multiply still; they are never satisfied*: besides they have *damnificas linguas*, (as he terms it) *nisi funibus, argenteis vinciâs*: they must be fed to say nothing, and [f]get more to hold their peace, than we can to say our best. They will speak their clients faire, and invite them to their tables: but (as he follows it) [g]*of all injustice, there is none so pernitious as that of theirs, which, when they deceive most, will seem to be honest men.* They take upon them to be peace-makers, *et fovere caussas humilium*, to help them to their right: *patrocinantur afflictis*; [h]but all is for their own good, *ut loculos pleniorum exhauriant*: they plead for poor men gratis; but they are but as a stale to catch others. If there be no jar, [i]they can make a jar, out of the law it self finde still some quirk or other, to set them at odds, and continue causes so long, *(lustra aliquot)* I know not how many

[a] Jurisconsulti domus oraculum civitatis. Tully. [b] Lib. 3. [c] Lib. 1. de rep. Gallorum. Incredibilem reipub. perniciem afferunt. [d] Polycrat. lib. [e] Is stipe contentus; at hi asses integros sibi multiplicari jubent. [f] Plus æquè piunt tacere, quam nos loqui. [g] Totius injustitiæ nulla capitalior, quam eorum, qui, cum maximè decipiunt, id agunt ut boni viri esse videantur. [h] Nam, quocunque modo causa procedat, hoc semper agitur, ut loculi impleantur, etsi avaritia nequit satiari. [i] Cambden, in Norfolk. Qui, si nihil sit litium, e juris apicibus lites tamen severe callent.

yeares, before the cause is heard: and when 'tis judged and determined, by reason of some trickes and errours, it is as fresh to begin, after twice seaven yeares sometimes, as it was at first; and so they prolong time, delay sutes till they have enriched themselves, and beggered their clients. And, as [a] Cato inveighed against Isocrates schollars, we may justly tax our wrangling lawyers,—they do *consenescere in litibus*, are so litigious and busie here on earth, that I think they will plead their clients causes hereafter, some of them in hell. [b] Simlerus complains, amongst the Suissers, of the advocates in his time, that, when they should make an end, they begin controversies, and *protract their causes many yeares, perswading them their title is good, till their patrimonies be consumed, and that they have spent more in seeking, than the thing is worth, or they shall get by the recovery*. So that he that goes to law (as the proverb is) [c] holds a woolf by the ears; or, as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a brier, if he prosecute his cause, he is consumed; if he surcease his sute, he loseth all: what difference? They had wont heretofore, saith [d] Austin, to end matters, *per communes arbitros*; and so in Switzerland, (we are informed by [e] Simlerus) *they had some common arbitrators or dayesmen in every town, that made a friendly composition betwixt man and man: and he much wonders at their honest simplicity, that could keep peace so well, and end such great causes by that meanes*. At [f] Fez in Africk, they have neither lawyers nor advocates; but, if there be any controversies amongst them, both parties, plaintiff and defendant, come to their Alfakins or chiefe judge; *and at once, without any further appeals or pittiful delayes, the cause is heard and ended*. Our fore fathers, (as [g] a worthy chorographer of ours observes) had wont, *pauculis cruculis aureis*, with a few golden crosses, and lines in verse, to make all conveyances, assurances. And such was the candour and integrity of succeeding ages, that a deed, (as I have oft seen) to convey a whole mannor, was *implicite* contained in some twenty lines, or thereabouts; like that scede or *scytala Laconica*, so much renowned of old in all contracts, which [h] Tully so earnestly commends to Atticus, Plutarch in his

[a] Plutarch. vit. Cat. Causas apud infemos, quas in suam fidem receperunt, patrocinio suo tuebuntur. [b] Lib. 2. de Helvet. repub. Non explicandis, sed mollendis controversiis operam dant, ita ut lites in multos annos extrahantur, summâ cum molestiâ utrâque partis, et dum interes patrimonia exhauriunter. [c] Lupum auribus tenet. [d] Hor. [e] Lib de Helvet. repub. Judices quocunque pago constituunt, qui amicâ aliquâ transactione, si fieri possit, lites tollant. Ego majorum nostrorum simplicitatem admiror, qui sic causas gravissimas composuerint, &c. [f] Clenard, l. 1. ep. Si quæ controversiæ, utraque pars judicem adit: is semel et simul rem transigit, audit: nec, quid sit appellatio, lacrymosæque moræ, noscunt. [g] Cambden. [h] Lib. 10, epist. ad Atticum, epist. 11.

Lysander, Aristotle, *polit.* Thucydides, *lib.* 1, [a] Diodorus, and Suidas, approve and magnifie, for that Laconick brevity in this kinde; and well they might; for, according to [b] Tertullian *certa sunt paucis*, there is much more certainty in fewer words. And so was it of old throughout: but now many skins of parchment will scarce serve turn: he that buys and sells a house, must have a house full of writings; there be so many circumstances, so many words, such tautological repetitions of all particulars (to avoid cavillation they say): but we finde, by our woful experience, that, to subtle wits, it is a cause of much more contention and variance; and scarce any conveyance so accurately penned by one, which another will not find a crack in, or cavil at; if any one word be misplaced, any little errour, all is disannulled. That which is law to day, is none to-morrow: that which is sound in one mans opinion, is most faulty to another; that, in conclusion, here is nothing amongst us but contention and confusion. We bandy one against another; and that, which long since [c] Plutarch complained of them in Asia, may be verified in our times—*These men, here assembled, come not to sacrifice to their gods, to offer Jupiter their first fruits, or merriments to Bacchus; but an yearly disease, exasperating Asia, hath brought them hither, to make an end of their controversies and law-sutes.* 'Tis *multitudo perdentium et pereuntium*, a destructive rout, that seek one anothers ruine. Such, most part, are our ordinary suters, termers, clients; new stirs every day, mistakes, errours, cavils, and at this present, (as I have heard) in some one court, I know not how many thousand causes: no person free, no title almost good, with such bitterness in following, so many slights, procrastinations, delayes, forgery, such costs (for infinite sums are inconsiderately spent), violence and malice, I know not by whose fault, lawyers, clients, lawes, both or all: but, as Paul reprehended the [d] Corinthians, long since, I may more appositely infer now: *There is a fault amongst you; and I speak it to your shame. Is there not a [e] wise man amongst you, to judge between his brethren? but that a brother goes to law with a brother.* And [f] Christ's counsell concerning law-sutes was never so fit to be inculcated, as in this age: *Agree with thine adversary quickly, &c.* Matth. 5. 25.

[a] Biblioth. l. 8. [b] Lib. de Anim. [c] Lib. major. morb. corp. an animi. Hi non conveniunt, ut diis more majorum sacra faciant, non ut Jovi primitias offerant, aut Baccho comissationes: sed anniversarius morbus, exasperans Asiam, huc eos coëgit, ut contentiones hic peragant. [d] 1 Cor. 6. 5. 6. [e] Stulti, quando demum sapietis? Psal. 94. 8. [f] Of which text read two learned Sermons, so intituled, and preached by our Regius Professor, D. Prideaux: printed at London by Felix Kingston, 1621.

I could repeat many such particular grievances, which must disturb a body politick:—to shut up all in briefe, where good government is, prudent and wise princes, there all things thrive and prosper: peace and happiness is in that land: where it is otherwise, all things are ugly to behold, incult, barbarous, uncivill; a paradise is turned to a wilderness. This island amongst the rest, our next neighbours the French and Germans, may be a sufficient witness, that in a short time, by that prudent policy of the Romans, was brought from barbarism: see but what Cæsar reports of us, and Tacitus of those old Germans: they were once as uncivill as they in Virginia; yet, by planting of colonies and good lawes, they became, from barbarous outlawes, [a] to be full of rich and populous cities, as now they are, and most flourishing kingdomes. Even so might Virginia, and those wild Irish, have been civilized long since, if that order had been heretofore taken, which now begins, of planting colonies, &c. I have read a [b] discourse, printed anno 1612, *discovering the true causes, why Ireland was never intirely subdued, or brought under obedience to the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majestie's happy reign.* Yet, if his reasons were thoroughly scanned by a judicious politician, I am afraid he would not altogether be approved, but that it would turn to the dishonour of our nation, to suffer it to lye so long waste. Yea, and if some travellers should see (to come nearer home) those rich United Provinces of Holland, Zealand, &c. over against us, those neat cities and populous towns, full of most industrious artificers, [c] so much land recovered from the sea, and so painfully preserved by those artificiall inventions, so wonderfully approved, as that of Bemster in Holland, *ut nihil huic par aut simile invenias in toto orbe,* saith Bertius the geographer—all the world cannot match it: [d] so many navigable chanels from place to place, made by mens hands, &c. and, on the other side, so many thousand acres of our fens lye drowned, our cities thin, and those vile, poor, and ugly to behold in respect of theirs; our trades decayed, our still running rivers stopped, and that beneficial use of transportation wholly neglected; so many havens void of ships and towns, so many parkes and forests for pleasure, barren heaths, so many villages depopulated, &c. I think sure he would finde some fault.

I may not deny but that this nation of ours doth *bene audire apud exteros*—is a most noble, a most flourishing kingdome by

[a] Sæpius bona materia cessat sine artifice. Sabellicus, de Germaniâ. Si quis videret Germaniam urbibus hodie excultam, non diceret, ut olim, tristem cultu, asperam cœlo, terram informem. [b] By his Majestie's Attorney General there. [c] As Zeipland, Bemster in Holland, &c. [d] From Gaunt to Sluce, from Bruges to the sea, &c.

common consent of all [a] geographers, historians, politicians: 'tis *unica velut arx*, and which Quintius in Livy said of the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, may be well applied to us, we are *testudines testâ suâ inclusæ*—like so many tortoises in our shells, safely defended by an angry sea, as a wall, on all sides: our island hath many such honourable elogiums; and, as a learned countrey-man of ours right well hath it, [b] *Ever since the Normans first coming into England, this countrey, both for military matters, and all other of civility, hath been parallel'd with the most flourishing kingdomes of Europe, and our Christian world*—a blessed, a rich countrey, and one of the fortunate isles; and, for some things, [c] preferred before other countreys, for expert seamen, our laborious discoveries, art of navigation, true merchants—they carry the bell away from all other nations, even the Portugals and Hollanders themselves—[d] *without all feare*, (saith Botetus) *furrowing the ocean winter and summer; and two of their captains, with no less valour than fortune, have sayled round about the world.* [e] We have besides many particular blessings, which our neighbours want—the gospel truly preached, church discipline established, long peace and quietness—free from exactions, foraign feares, invasions, domesticall seditions—well manured, [f] fortified by art, and nature, and now most happy in that fortunate union of England and Scotland, which our forefathers have laboured to effect, and desired to see; but, in which we excell all others, a wise, learned, religious king, another Numa, a second Augustus, a true Josiah, most worthy senatours, a learned clergy, an obedient commonalty, &c. Yet, amongst many roses, some thistles grow, some bad weeds and enormities, which much disturb the peace of this body politick, eclipse the honour and glory of it, fit to be rooted out, and with all speed to be reformed.

The first is idleness, by reason of which we have many swarms of rogues and beggers, theeves, drunkards, and discontented persons, (whom Lycurgus, in Plutarch, calls *morbos reipub.* the boyls of the common-wealth) many poor people in all our towns, *civitates ignobiles*, as [g] Polydore calls them, base-built cities, inglorious, poor, small, rare in sight, ruinous, and thin of inhabitants. Our land is fertile (we may not deny), full of all good things; and why doth it not then abound with cities, as well as Italy, France, Germany, the Low-Countreys?

[a] Ortelius, Boterus, Mercator, Meteranus, &c. [b] Jam inde non belli gloriâ, quam humanitatis cultu, inter florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit. Cambden. Brit. de Normannis. [c] Geog. Kecker. [d] Tam hyeme quam æstate intrepide sulcant oceanum; et duo illorum duces, non minore audaciâ quam fortunâ, totius orbem terræ circumnavigârunt. Amphitheatro Boterus. [e] A fertile soil, good ayr, &c. tin, lead, wool, saffron, &c. [f] Tota Britannia unica velut arx. Boter. [g] Lib. 1. hist.

because their policy hath been otherwise; and we are not so thrifty, circumspect, industrious. Idleness is the *malus genius* of our nation: for (as [a] Boterus justly argues) fertility of a countrey is not enough, except art and industry be joined unto it. According to Aristotle, riches are either naturall or artificiall: naturall are good land, faire mines, &c. artificiall, are manufactures, coines, &c. Many kingdomes are fertile, but thin of inhabitants, as that duchy of Piedmont in Italy, which Leander Albertus so much magnifies for corn, wine, fruits, &c. yet nothing near so populous as these which are more barren. [b] *England*, saith he *(London only excepted) hath never a populous city, and yet a fruitful countrey.* I find 46 cities and walled towns in ~~Alsatia~~, a small province in Germany, 50 castles, an infinite number of villages, no ground idle—no, not rocky places, or tops of hills, are untilled, as [c] Munster informeth us. In [d] Greichgea, a small territory on the Necker, 24 Italian miles over, I read of 20 walled towns, innumerable villages, each one containing 150 houses most part, besides castles and noblemens palaces. I observe, in [e] Turinge in Dutchland, (twelve miles over by their scale) 12 counties, and in them 144 cities, 2000 villages, 144 towns, 250 castles —in [f] Bavaria, 34 cities, 46 towns, &c. [g] *Portugallia interamnis*, a small plot of ground, hath 1460 parishes, 130 monasteries, 200 bridges. Malta, a barren island, yeelds 20000 inhabitants. But of all the rest, I admire Lues Guicciardine's relations of the Low-Countreys. Holland hath 26 cities, 400 great villages —Zealand, 10 cities, 102 parishes—Brabant, 26 cities, 102 parishes—Flanders, 28 cities, 90 towns, 1154 villages, besides abbies, castles, &c. The Low-Countreys generally have three cities at least for one of ours, and those far more populous and rich: and what is the cause, but their industry and excellency in all manner of trades, their commerce, which is maintained by a multitude of tradesmen, so many excellent chanels made by art, and opportune havens, to which they build their cities? all which we have in like measure, or at least may have. But their chiefest loadstone, which draws all manner of commerce and merchandise, which maintains their present estate, is not fertility of soyl, but industry that enricheth them: the gold mines of Peru or Nova Hispania may not compare with them. They have neither gold nor silver of their own, wine nor oyl, or scarce any corn growing in those United Provinces, little

[a] Increment. urb. lib. 1. cap. 9. [b] Angliæ, excepto Londino, nulla est civitas memorabilis, licet ea natio rerum omnium copia abundet. [c] Cosmog. lib. 3. cap. 119. Villarum non est numerus; nullus locus otiosus, aut incultus. [d] Chytræus, orat. edit. Francof 1593. [e] Maginus Geog. [f] Ortelius e Vasco et Pet. a Medina. [g] An hundred families in each.

or now ood, tin, lead, iron, silk, wooll, any stuff almost, or mettal; and yet Hungary, Transilvania, that brag of their mines, fertile England, cannot compare with them. I dare boldly say, that neither France, Tarentum, Apulia, Lombardy, or any part of Italy, Valence in Spain, or that pleasant Andalusia, with their excellent fruits, wine, and oyl, two harvests —no, not any part of Europe, is so flourishing, so rich, so populous, so full of good ships, of well built cities, so abounding with all things necessary for the use of man. 'Tis our Indies, an epitome of China, and all by reason of their industry, good policy, and commerce. Industry is a loadstone to draw all good things; that alone makes countreys flourish, cities populous, [a] and will enforce, by reason of much manure which necessarily follows, a barren soyl to be fertile and good, as sheep (saith [b] Dion) mend a bad pasture.

Tell me, politicians, why is the fruitful Palestina, noble Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, so much decayed, and (meer carkasses now) faln from what they were? The ground is the same; but the government is altered; the people are grown slothful, idle; their good husbandry, policy, and industry, is decayed. *Non fatigata aut effeta humus;* (as [c] Columella well informs Sylvinus) *sed nostrâ fit inertiâ*, &c. May a man believe that which Aristotle in his Politicks, Pausanias, Stephanus, Sophianus, Gerbelius, relate of old Greece? I finde heretofore 70 cities in Epirus (overthrown by Paulus Æmilius), a goodly province in times past, [d] now left desolate of good towns, and almost inhabitants—62 cities in Macedonia, in Strabo's time. I find 30 in Laconia, but now scarce so many villages, saith Gerbelius. If any man, from Mount Täygetus, should view the countrey round about, and see *tot delicias, tot urbes per Peloponnesum dispersas*, so many delicate and brave built cities, with such cost and exquisite cunning, so neatly set out in Peloponnesus, [e] he should perceive them now ruinous and overthrown, burnt, waste, desolate, and laid level with the ground. *Incredibile dictu, &c.* And as he laments, *Quis talia fando, Temperet a lacrymis? Quis tam durus aut ferreus*, (so he prosecutes it) who is he that can sufficiently condole and commiserate these ruines? Where are those 4000 cities of Egypt, those 100 cities in Crete? Are they now come to two? What saith Pliny, and Ælian, of old Italy? There were, in former ages, 1166 cities: Blondus and Machiavel both grant

[a] Populi multitudo diligenti culturâ fecundat solum. Boter. l. 8. c. 3. [b] Orat. 35. Terra ubi oves stabulantur, optima agricolis obtingit. [c] De re rust. l. 2. cap. 1. [d] Hodie urbibus desolatur, et magnâ ex parte incolis destituitur. Gerbelius, desc. Græciæ, lib. 6. [e] Videbit eas fere omnes aut eversas, aut solo æquatas, aut in rudera fœdissime dejectas. Gerbelius.

them now nothing near so populous and full of good towns, as in the time of Augustus (for now Leander Albertus can find but 300 at most), and, if we may give credit to [a] Livy, not then so strong and puissant as of old: *They mustered 70 legions in former times, which now the known world will scarce yeeld.* Alexander built 70 cities in a short space for his part; our sultans and Turkes demolish twice as many, and leave all desolate. Many will not believe but that our island of Great Britain is now more populous than ever it was; yet let them read Bede, Leland, and others; they shall finde it most flourished in the Saxon Heptarchy, and in the Conquerours time was far better inhabited, than at this present. See that *Doomsday*-Book; and shew me those thousands of parishes, which are now decayed, cities ruined, villages depopulated, &c. The lesser the territory is, commonly the richer it is—*parvus, sed bene cultus, ager*—as those Athenian, Lacedæmonian, Arcadian, Elean, Sicyonian, Messenian, &c. common-wealths of Greece make ample proof—as those imperial cities and free states of Germany may witness—those cantons of Switzers, Rhæti, Grisons, Walloons, territories of Tuscany, Lucca and Sienna of old, Piedmont, Mantua, Venice in Italy, Raguse, &c.

That prince, therefore (as [b] Boterus adviseth) that will have a rich countrey, and faire cities, let him get good trades, privileges, painful inhabitants, artificers, and suffer no rude matter unwrought, as tin, iron, wooll, lead, &c. to be transported out of his countrey—[c] a thing in part seriously attempted amongst us, but not effected. And, because industry of men, and multitude of trade, so much avails to the ornament and enriching of a kingdome, those ancient [d] Massilians would admit no man into their city that had not some trade. Selym the First, Turkish emperour, procured a thousand good artificers to be brought from Tauris to Constantinople. The Polanders indented with Henry duke of Anjou, their new chosen king, to bring with him an hundred families of artificers into Poland. James the First in Scotland (as [e] Buchanan writes) sent for the best artificers he could get in Europe, and gave them great rewards to teach his subjects their several trades. Edward the Third, our most renowned king, to his eternall memory, brought cloathing first into this island, transporting some families of artificers from Gaunt hither. How many goodly cities could I reckon up, that thrive wholly by trade, where

[a] Lib. 7. Septuaginta olim legiones scriptæ dicuntur; quas vires hodie, &c. [b] Polit. l. 3. c. 8. [c] For dying of cloaths, and dressing, &c. [d] Valer. lib. 2. c. 1. [e] Hist. Scot. lib. 10. Magnis propositis, præmiis, ut Scuti ab iis edoceantur.

thousands of inhabitants live singular well by their finger ends, as Florence in Italy by making cloth of gold; great Millan by silk, and all curious workes; Arras in Artois by those faire hangings; many cities in Spain, many in France, Germany, have none other maintenance, especially those within the land. [a] Mecha, in Arabia Petræa, stands in a most unfruitful countrey, that wants water, amongst the rockes (as Vertomannus describes it); and yet it is a most elegant and pleasant city, by reason of the traffike of the east and west. Ormus, in Persia, is a most famous mart-town, hath nought else but the opportunity of the haven to make it flourish. Corinth, a noble city, *flumen Græciæ*, Tully calls it) the eye of Greece, by reason of Cenchreas and Lecheus, those excellent ports, drew all the traffike of the Ionian and Ægean seas to it; and yet the countrey about it was *curva et superciliosa*, (as [b] Strabo terms it) rugged and harsh. We may say the same of Athens, Actium, Thebes, Sparta, and most of those towns in Greece. Noremberg in Germany is sited in a most barren soyl, yet a noble imperial city, by the sole industry of artificers, and cunning trades: they draw the riches of most countreys to them; so expert in manufactures, that, as Sallust long since gave out of the like, *sedem animæ in extremis digitis habent*; their soule, or *intellectus agens*, was placed in their fingers ends; and so we may say of Basil, Spire, Cambray, Francfurt, &c. It is almost incredible to speak what some write of Mexico, and the cities adjoining to it: no place in the world, at their first discovery, more populous. [c] Mat. Riccius the Jesuite, and some others, relate of the industry of the Chinese most populous countreys, not a beggar, or an idle person to be seen, and how by that meanes they prosper and flourish. We have the same meanes—able bodies, pliant wits, matter of all sorts, wooll, flax, iron, tin, lead, wood, &c. many excellent subjects to work upon: only industry is wanting. We send our best commodities beyond the seas, which they can make good use of to their necessities, set themselves a work about, and severally improve, sending the same to us back at dear rates, or else make toyes and bables of the tails of them, which they sell to us again, at as great a reckoning as they bought the whole. In most of our cities, some few excepted, [d] like Spanish loyterers, we live wholly by tipling: inns and ale-houses, malting, are their best

[a] Munst. cosm. l. 5. c. 74: Agro omnium rerum infecundissimo, aquâ indigente, inter saxeta, urbs tamen elegantissima, ob orientis negotiationes et occidentis. [b] Lib 8. Geogr. Ob asperum situm. [c] Lib. Edit. a Nic. Tregant, Belg. A. 1616. expedit. in Sinas. [d] Ubi nobiles probri loco habent artem aliquam profiteri. Clenard. ep. l. 1.

ploughs; their greatest traffike, to sell ale. [a] Meteran and some others object to us, that we are no whit so industrious as the Hollanders: *Manual trades*, (saith he) *which are more curious or troublesome, are wholly exercised by strangers: they dwell in a sea full of fish; but they are so idle, they will not catch so much as shall serve their own turns, but buy it of their neighbours.* Tush! [b] *Mare liberum:* they fish under our noses, and sell it to us, when they have done, at their own prices.

> ——— Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
> Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

I am ashamed to hear this objected by strangers; and know not how to answer it.

Amongst our towns, there is only [c] London that bears the face of a city—[d] *epitome Britanniæ*, a famous *emporium*, secund to none beyond seas, a noble mart: but *sola crescit, decrescentibus aliis;* and, yet in my slender judgement, defective in many things. The rest ([e] some few excepted) are in mean estate, ruinous most part, poor and full of beggers, by reason of their decayed trades, neglected or bad policy, idleness of their inhabitants, and ryot, which had rather beg or loyter, and be ready to starve, than work.

I cannot deny, but that something may be said in defence of our cities, [f] that they are not so faire built, (for the sole magnificence of this kingdome, concerning buildings, hath been of old in those Norman castles and religious houses) so rich, thick sited, populous, as in some other countreys. Besides the reasons Cardan gives, *(Subtil. lib.* 11.) we want wine and oyl, their two harvests; we dwell in a colder ayr, and, for that cause, must a little more liberally [g] feed of flesh, as all Northern countreys do. Our provision will not therefore extend to the maintenance of so many: yet, notwithstanding, we have matter of all sorts, an open sea for traffike, as well as the rest, goodly havens. And how can we excuse our

[a] Lib. 18. Belg. Hist. Non tam laboriosi, ut Belgæ, sed, ut Hispani, otiatores, vitam ut plurimum otiosam agentes: artes manuarias, quæ plurimum habent in se laboris et difficultatis, majoremque requirunt industriam, a peregrinis et exteris exercentur; habitant in piscosissimo mari; interea tantum non piscantur quantum insulæ sufficeret, sed a vicinis emere coguntur. [b] Grotii Liber. [c] Urbs animis numerisque potens, et robore gentis. Scaliger. [d] Cambden. [e] York, Bristow, Norwich, Worcester, &c. [f] M. Gainsford's argument, "Because gentlemen dwell with us in the countrey villages, our cities are less," is nothing to the purpose. Put 300 or 400 villages in a shire, and every village yeeld a gentleman; what is 400 families to encrease one of our cities, or to contend with theirs, which stand thicke? and whereas ours usually consist of 7000, theirs consist of 40000 inhabitants. [g] Maxima pars victûs in carne consistit. Polyd. Lib. 1. Hist.

negligence, our ryot, drunkenness, &c. and such enormities that follow it? We have excellent lawes enacted, (you will say) severe statutes, houses of correction, &c.—to small purpose, it seems: it is not houses will serve, but cities of corrections: [a] our trades generally ought to be reformed, wants supplyed. In other countreys, they have the same grievances, I confess, (but that doth not excuse us) [b] wants, defects, enormities, idle drones, tumults, discords, contention, lawsutes, many lawes made against them to repress those innumerable brawls and law-sutes, excess in apparel, dyet, decay of tillage, depopulations, [c] especially against rogues, beggers, Ægyptian vagabonds (so termed at least) which have [d] swarmed all over Germany, France, Italy, Poland, (as you may read in [e] Munster, Cranzius, and Aventinus) as those Tartars and Arabians at this day do in the eastern countreys—yet, (such hath been the iniquity of all ages) as it seems, to small purpose. *Nemo in nostrâ civitate mendicus esto*, saith Plato: he will have them purged from a [f] common-wealth, [g] *as a bad humour from the body*, that are like so many ulcers and boyls, and must be cured before the melancholy body can be eased.

What Carolus Magnus, the Chinese, the Spaniards, the duke of Saxony, and many other states, have decreed in this case, read *Arnisæus, cap.* 19. *Boterus, libro* 8. *cap.* 2. *Osorius, de Rebus gest. Eman. lib.* 11. When a countrey is overstored with people, as a pasture is oft over-laid with cattle, they had wont in former times to disburden themselves, by sending out colonies, or by wars, as those old Romans, or by employing them at home about some publike buildings, as bridges, rode-wayes, (for which those Romans were famous in this island) as Augustus Cæsar did in Rome, the Spaniards in their Indian mines, as at Potosi in Peru, where some thirty thousand men are still at work, six thousand fornaces ever boyling, &c. [h] aqueducts, bridges, havens, those stupend workes of Trajan, Claudius at [i] Ostium, Dioclesiani Thermæ, Fucinus Lacus, that Piræeum in Athens, made by Themistocles, amphitheatrums of curious marble, as at Verona, Civitas Philippi, and Heraclea in Thrace, those Appian and Flaminian wayes, prodigious workes all may witness;

[a] *Refrænate monopolii licentiam; panciores alantur otio; redintegretur agricolatio; lanificium instauretur; ut sit honestum negotium, quo & exercent otiosa illa turba. Nisi his malis medentur, frustra exercent justitiam.* Mor. Utop. Lib. 1. [b] Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex. Hor. [c] Regis dignitatis non est exercere imperium in mendicos, sed in opulentos. Non est regni decus, sed carceris esse custos. Idem. [d] Colluvies hominum mirabilis, excocti sole, immundi veste, fœdi visu, furtis imprimis acres, &c. [e] Cosmog. lib. 3. c. 5. [f] Seneca. Haud minus turpis principi multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera. [g] Ut pituitam et bilem a corpore, (11. de leg.) omnes vult exterminari. [h] See Lipsius, Admiranda. [i] De quo Suet. in Claudio; et Plinius, c. 36.

and (rather than they should be [a]idle) as those [b]Ægyptian Pharaohs, Mœris, and Sesostris, did, to task their subjects to build unnecessary pyramids, obelisks, labyrinths, chanels, lakes, gygantian workes all, to divert them from rebellion, ryot, drunkenness; [c]*quo scilicet alantur, et ne vagando laborare desuescant.*

Another eye-sore is that want of conduct and navigable rivers,—a great blemish, (as [d]Boterus, [e]Hippolytus a Collibus, and other politicians hold) if it be neglected in a common-wealth. Admirable cost and charge is bestowed in the Low-Countreys on this behalf, in the Duchy of Millan, territory of Padua, in [f]France, Italy, China, and so likewise about corrivations of waters, to moisten and refresh barren grounds, to drean fens, bogs, and moors. Massinissa made many inward parts of Barbary and Numidia in Africk (before his time incult and horrid) fruitful and bartable by this meanes. Great industry is generally used all over the eastern countreys in this kinde, especially in Ægypt, about Babylon and Damascus, (as Vertomannus and [g]Gotardus Arthus relate) about Barcelona, Segovia, Murcia, and many other places of Spain, Millan in Italy; by reason of which, their soyl is much improved, and infinite commodities arise to the inhabitants.

The Turkes of late attempted to cut that Isthmos betwixt Africk and Asia, which [h]Sesostris and Darius, and some Pharaohs of Ægypt had formerly undertaken, but with ill success (as [i]Diodorus Siculus records, and Pliny); for that the Red sea, being three [k]cubits higher than Ægypt, would have drowned all the countrey, *cæpto destiterant*, they left off. Yet (as the same [l]Diodorus writes) Ptolemy renewed the work many yeares after, and absolved it in a more opportune place.

That Isthmos of Corinth was likewise undertaken to be made navigable by Demetrius, by Julius Cæsar, Nero, Domitian, Herodes Atticus, to make a speedy [m]passage, and less dangerous, from the Ionian and Ægean seas: but, because it could not be so well effected, the Peloponnesians built a wall, like our Picts wall, about Schœnus where Neptune's temples stood, and

[a]Ut egestati simul et ignaviæ occurratur, opificia condiscantur, tenues sublevantur. Bodin. l. 6. c. 2. num. 6, 7. [b]Amasis, Ægypti rex, legem promulgavit, ut omnes subditi quotannis rationem redderent unde viverent. [c]Buscoldus, discursu polit. cap. 2. [d]Lib. 1. de increm. urb. cap. 6. [e]Cap. 5. de increm. urb. Quas flumen, locus, aut mare, alluit. [f]Incredibilem commoditatem, vecturâ mercium, tres fluvii navigabiles, &c. Boterus, de Galliâ. [g]Herodotus. [h]Ind. Orient. cap. 2. Rotam in medio flumine constituunt, cui ex pellibus animalium consutos utres appendunt: hi, dum rota movetur, aquam per canales, &c. [i]Centum pedes lata fossa, 90 alta. [k]Contrary to that of Archimedes, who holds the superficies of all waters even. [l]Lib. 1. cap. 8. [m]Dion. Pausanias, et Nic. Gerbelius. Munster. Cosm. lib. 4. cap. 36. Ut brevior foret navigatio, et minus periculosa.

in the shortest cut over the Isthmos, (of which Diodorus, lib. 11. Herodotus, lib. 8. Uran.—our later writers call it Hexamilium) which Amurath the Turk demolished, the Venetians, anno 1453, repaired in fifteen daves with thirty thousand men. Some, saith Acosta, would have a passage cut from Panama to Nombre de Dios in America; but Thuanus and Serres, the French historians, speak of a famous aqueduct in France, intended in Henry the Fourth's time, from the Loyre to the Seine, and from Rhodanus to Loyre; the like to which was formerly assayed by Domitian the emperour, [a] from Arar to Mosella, (which Cornelius Tacitus speaks of in the thirteenth of his Annals), after by Charles the great, and others. Much cost hath in former times been bestowed in either new making or mending chanels of rivers, and their passages, (as Aurelianus did by Tiber to make it navigable to Rome, to convey corn from Ægypt to the city: *vadum alvei tumentis effodit*, saith Vopiscus, *et Tiberis ripas extruxit*; he cut fords, made bankes, &c.) decayed havens, which Claudius the emperour, with infinite pains and charges, attempted at Ostium, (as I have said) the Venetians at this day, to preserve their city. Many excellent meanes, to enrich their territories, have been fostered, invented in most provinces of Europe, as planting some Indian plants amongst us; silk-worms; [b] the very mulberry leaves in the plains of Granado yeeld thirty thousand crowns *per annum* to the king of Spain's coffers, besides those many trades and artificers that are busied about them in the kingdome of Granado, Murcia, and all over Spain. In France, a great benefit is raised by salt, &c. Whether these things might not be as happily attempted with us, and with like success, it may be controverted—silk-worms (I mean), vines, fir-trees, &c. Cardan exhorts Edward the Sixth to plant olives, and is fully perswaded they would prosper in this island. With us, navigable rivers are most part neglected. Our streams are not great, I confess, by reason of the narrowness of the island; yet they run smoothly and even, not headlong, swift, or amongst rockes and shelves, as foaming Rhodanus and Loyre in France, Tigris in Mesopotamia, violent Durius in Spain, with cataracts and whirl-pools, as the Rhine, and Danubius, about Schaffhausen, Lausenburgh, Linz, and Cremmes, to endanger navigators; or broad shallow, as Neeker in the Palatinate, Tibris in Italy; but calm and faire as Arar in France, Hebrus in Macedonia, Eurotas in Laconia: they gently glide along, and might as well be repaired, many of them, (I mean Wie, Trent, Ouse, Thamisis at Ox-

[a] Charles the great went about to make a chanel from Rhine to Danubius. Bil. Pirkimerus, descript. Ger. the ruines are yet seen about Wessemberg, from Rednich to Altemul. Ut navigabilia inter se Occidentis et Septentrionis littora fierent. [b] Magnus, Geogr. Simlerus, de rep Helvet. lib. 1. descript.

ford, the defect of which we feel in the mean time) as the river of Lee from Ware to London. K. Atwater of old, or (as some will) Henry the First, [a] made a chanel from Trent to Lincoln, navigable; which now, saith Mr. Cambden, is decayed: and much mention is made of anchors, and such like monuments, found about old [b] Verulamium: good ships have formerly come to Exeter, and many such places, whose chanels, havens, ports, are now barred and rejected. We contemn this benefit of carriage by waters, and are therefore compelled, in the inner parts of this island, because portage is so dear, to eat up our commodities our selves, and live like so many boars in a sty, for want of vent and utterance.

We have many excellent havens, royal havens, Falmouth, Portsmouth, Milford, &c.—equivalent, if not to be preferred, to that Indian Havana, old Brundusium in Italy, Aulis in Greece, Ambracia in Acarnania, Suda in Crete,—which have few ships in them, little or no traffike or trade, which have scarce a village on them, able to bear great cities: *sed viderint politici.* I could here justly tax many other neglects, abuses, errours, defects among us, and in other countreys—depopulations, ryot, drunkenness, &c. and many such, *quæ nunc in aurem susurrare non libet.* But I must take heed, *ne quid gravius dicam*, that I do not overshoot my self—*Sus Minervam*—I am forth of my element, as you peradventure suppose; and sometimes *veritas odium parit*, as he said; *verjuyce and oatmeal is good for a parret*: for, as Lucian said of an historian, I say of a politician, he that will freely speak and write, must be for ever no subject, under no prince or law, but lay out the matter truly as it is, not caring what any can, will, like or dislike.

We have good lawes, (I deny not) to rectifie such enormities; and so in all other countreys; but, it seems, not alwayes to good purpose. We had need of some general visitor in our age, that should reform what is amiss—a just army of Rosie-cross men; for they will amend all matters, (they say) religion, policy, manners, with arts, sciences, &c.—another Attila, Tamberlane, Hercules, to strive with Acheloüs, *Augeæ stabulum purgare*, to subdue tyrants, as [c] he did Diomedes and Busiris; to expel theeves, as he did Cacus and Lacinius; to vindicate poor captives, as he did Hesione: to pass the torrid zone, the desarts of Libya, and purge the world of monsters and Centaures—or another Theban Crates to reform our manners, to compose quarrels and controversies, as in his time he did, and was therefore adored for a god

[a] Cambden in Lincolnshire. Fosse-dike. [b] Near St. Albans. [c] Lilius Girald. Nat. Comes.

in Athens. *As Hercules* [a] *purged the world of monsters, and subdued them, so did he fight against envy, lust, anger, avarice, &c. and all those jerall vices and monsters of the minde.* It were to be wished we had some such visitor, or (if wishing would serve) one had such a ring or rings, as Timolaüs desired in [b] Lucian, by vertue of which he should be as strong as ten thousand men, or an army of gyants, go invisible, open gates and castle doors, have what treasure he would, transport himself in an instant to what place he desired, alter affections, cure all manner of diseases, that he might range over the world, and reform all distressed states and persons, as he would himself. He might reduce those wandering Tartars in order, that infest China on the one side, Muscovy, Poland, on the other; and tame the vagabond Arabians that rob and spoyl those eastern countreys, that they should never use more caravans, or janizaries to conduct them. He might root out barbarism out of America, and fully discover *Terra Australis Incognita*; find out the north-east and north-west passages; drean those mighty Mæotian fens; cut down those vast Hercynian woods, irrigate those barren Arabian desarts, &c. cure us of our epidemical diseases, *scorbutum, plica, morbus Neapolitanus, &c.* end all our idle controversies; cut off our tumultuous desires, inordinate lusts; root out atheism, impiety, heresie, schism and superstition, which now so crucifie the world; catechise gross ignorance, purge Italy of luxury and ryot, Spain of superstition and jealousie, Germany of drunkenness, all our northern countreys of gluttony and intemperance; castigate our hard-hearted parents, masters, tutors; lash disobedient children, negligent servants; correct these spendthrifts and prodigall sons; enforce idle persons to work; drive drunkards off the ale-house; repress theeves, visit corrupt and tyrannizing magistrates, &c. But, as L. Licinius taxed Timolaüs, you may us. These are vain, absurd, and ridiculous wishes, not to be hoped: all must be as it is. [c] Boccalinus may cite common-wealths to come before Apollo, and seek to reform the world it self by commissioners; but there is no remedy; it may not be redressed: *desinent homines tum demum stultescere, quando esse desinent:* so long as they can wag their beards, they will play the knaves and fools.

Because, therefore, it is a thing so difficult, impossible, and far beyond Hercules labours to be performed, let them be rude,

[a] Apuleius, lib. 4. Flor. Lar familiaris inter homines ætatis suæ cultus est, litium omnium et jurgiorum inter propinquos arbiter et disceptator. Adversus iracundiam, invidiam, avaritiam, libidinem, cæteraque animi humani vitia et monstra philosophus iste Hercules fuit. Pestes eas mentibus exegit omnes, &c. [b] Vocis Navig.
[c] Ragguaglio, part. 2. cap. 2. et part. 3. c. 17.

stupid, ignorant, incult: *lapis super lapidem sedeat;* and, as the [a] apologist will, *resp. tussi et graveolentiâ laboret, mundus vitio:* let them be barbarous as they are; let them [b] tyrannize, epicurize, oppress, luxuriate, consume themselves with factions, superstitions, law-sutes, wars and contentions, live in ryot, poverty, want, miserie; rebel, wallow as so many swine in their own dung, with Ulysses companions: *stultos jubeo esse libenter.* I will yet, to satisfie and please my self, make an Utopia of mine own, a new Atlantis, a poetical common-wealth of mine own, in which I will freely domineer, build cities, make lawes, statutes, as I list my self. And why may I not?

——— [c] pictoribus atque poëtis, &c.

You know what liberty poets ever had; and, besides, my predecessour Democritus was a politician, a recorder of Abdera, a law-maker, as some say; and why may not I presume so much as he did? Howsoever I will adventure. For the site, if you will needs urge me to it, I am not fully resolved: it may be in *Terra Australis Incognita;* there is room enough (for, of my knowledge, neither that hungry Spaniard, [d] nor Mercurius Britannicus, have yet discovered half of it) or else one of those floating islands in *Mare del Zur*, which, like the Cyanean isles in the Euxine sea, alter their place, and are accessible only at set times, and to some few persons; or one of the Fortunate isles; for who knows yet where, or which they are? There is room enough in the inner parts of America, and northern coasts of Asia. But I will choose a site, whose latitude shall be 45 degrees (I respect not minutes), in the midst of the temperate zone, or perhaps under the æquator, that [e] paradise of the world, *ubi semper virens laurus, &c.* where is a perpetual spring. The longitude, for some reasons, I will conceal. Yet *be it known to all men by these presents,* that, if any honest gentleman will send in so much mony, as Cardan allows an astrologer for casting a nativity, he shall be a sharer: I will acquaint him with my project: or, if any worthy man will stand for any temporall or spirituall office or dignity, (for, as he said of his archbishoprick of Utopia, 'tis *sanctus ambitus*, and not amiss to be sought after) it shall be freely given, without all intercessions, bribes, letters, &c. his own worth shall be the best spokesman; and (because we shall admit of no deputies or advowsons) if he be sufficiently qualified, and as able as willing to execute the place himself, he shall have present possession. It shall be divided into

[a] Valent. Andreæ Apolog. manip. 604. [b] Qui sordidus est, sordescat adhuc. [c] Hor. [d] Ferdinando Quir. 1612. [e] Vide Acosta et Laet.

twelve or thirteen provinces; and those, by hills, rivers, rude-ways, or some more eminent limits, exactly bounded. Each province shall have a metropolis, which shall be so placed as a center almost in a circumference, and the rest at equal distances, some twelve Italian miles asunder, or thereabout; and in them shall be sold all things necessary for the use of man, *statis horis et diebus*: no market-towns, markets or faires; for they do but begger cities (no village shall stand above six, seaven, or eight miles from a city) except those emporiums which are by the sea-side, general staples, marts, as Antwerp, Venice, Bergen of old, London, &c. Cities, most part, shall be situate upon navigable rivers or lakes, creeks, havens—and, for their form, regular, round, square, or long square, [a]with faire, broad, and straight [b]streets, houses uniform, built of brick and stone, like Bruges, Bruxels, Rhegium Lepidi, Bern in Switzerland, Millan, Mantua, Crema, Cambalu in Tartary described by M. Polus, or that Venetian Palma. I will admit very few or no suburbs, and those of baser building, walls only to keep out man and horse, except it be in some frontier towns, or by the sea-side, and those to be fortified [c]after the latest manner of fortification, and site upon convenient havens, or opportune places. In every so built city, I will have convenient churches, and separate places to bury the dead in, not in church-yards—a citadella (in some, not all) to command it, prisons for offenders, opportune market-places of all sorts, for corn, meat, cattel, fuel, fish, &c.—commodious courts of justice, publike halls for all societies, burses, meeting-places, armories, [d]in which shall be kept engins for quenching of fire,—artillery gardens, publike walks, theaters, and spacious fields allotted for all gymnicks, sports, and honest recreations,—hospitals of all kindes, for children, orphans, old folks, sick men, mad men, souldiers, —pest-houses, &c. (not built *precorio*, or by gowty benefactors, who, when by fraud and rapine they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, &c. give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory alms-house, school, or bridge, &c. at their last end, or before perhaps; which is no otherwise than to steal a goose, and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten) and those hospitals so built and maintained, not by collections, benevolences, donaries, for a set number, (as in ours) just so many, and no more at such a rate, but for all those who stand in need, be they more or less, and that *ex publico ærario*, and so still maintained: *non nobis solum nati sumus*, &c. I will have conduits of sweet and good water, aptly disposed in

[a] Vide Patritium, lib. 8. tit. 10. de Instit. Reip. Milesius, Arist. polit. c. 11. et Vitruvius, l. 1. c. ult.
[b] Sic olim Hippodamus
[c] With walls of earth, &c.
[d] De his, Plin. epist. 42. lib. 10. et Tacit. Annal. 13. lib.

each town, common [a] granaries, as at Dresden in Misnia, Stetein in Pomerland, Noremberg, &c. colleges of mathematicians, musicians, and actors, as of old at Lebedum in Ionia, [b] alchymists, physitians, artists and philosophers; that all arts and sciences may sooner be perfected and better learned; and publike historiographers, (as amongst those antient [c] Persians, *qui in commentarios referebant quæ memoratu digna gerebantur)* informed and appointed by the state to register all famous acts, and not by each insufficient scribler, partial or parasitical pedant, as in our times. I will provide publike schools of all kindes, singing, dancing, fencing, &c. especially of [d] grammar and languages, not to be taught by those tedious precepts ordinarily used, but by use, example, conversation, as travellers learn abroad, and nurses teach their children. As I will have all such places, so will I ordain [e] publike governours, fit officers to each place, treasurers, ædiles, quæstors, overseers of pupils, widows goods, and all publike houses, &c. and those, once a year, to make strict accounts of all receipts, expences, to avoid confusion; *et sic fiet ut non absumant,* (as Pliny to Trajan) *quod pudeat dicere.* They shall be subordinate to those higher officers, and governours of each city, which shall not be poor tradesmen, and mean artificers, but noblemen and gentlemen, which shall be tyed to residence in those towns they dwell next, at such set times and seasons; for I see no reason (which [f] Hippolytus complains of) *that it should be more dishonourable for noblemen to govern the city, than the countrey, or unseemly to dwell there now, than of old.* [g] I will have no bogs, fens, marishes, vast woods, desarts, heaths, commons, but all inclosed (yet not depopulated, and therefore take heed you mistake me not); for that which is common, and every mans, is no mans: the richest countreys are still inclosed, as Essex, Kent, with us, &c. Spain, Italy; and where inclosures are least in quantity, they are best [h] hus-

[a] Vide Brisonium. de regno Pers. lib. 3. de his, et Vegetium, lib. 2. cap. 3. de Annonâ. [b] Not to make gold, but for matters of physick. [c] Brisonius, Josephus, lib. 21. antiq. Jud. cap. 6. Herod. lib. 9. [d] So Lud. Vives thinks best, Comineus and others. [e] Plato 3. de leg. Ædiles creări vult, qui fora, fontes, vias, portus, plateas, et id genus alia procurent—Vide Isaacum Pontanum, de civ. Amstel. hæc omnia, &c. Gotardum et alios. [f] De increm. urb. cap. 13. Ingenue fateor me non intelligere cur ignobilius sit urbes bene munitas colere nunc quam olim, aut case rusticæ præesse quam urbi. Idem Ubertus Foliot, de Neapoli. [g] Ne tantillum quidem soli incultum relinquitur; ut verum sit ne pollicem quidem agri in his regionibus sterilem aut infecundum reperiri. Marcus Hemingius Augustanus, de regno Chinæ, l. 1 c. 3. [h] M. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, saith, that, before that countrey was inclosed, the husbandmen drank water, did eat little or no bread. (fol. 66. lib. 1.) their apparel was coarse; they went bare-legged; their dwelling was correspondent; but since inclosure, they live decently, and have mony to spend; (fol. 23.) when their

banded, as about Florence in Italy, Damascus in Syria, &c. which are liker gardens than fields. I will not have a barren acre in all my territories, not so much as the tops of mountains: where nature fails, it shall be supplyed by art: [a] lakes and rivers shall not be left desolate. All common high-wayes, bridges, bankes, corrivations of waters, aqueducts, chanels, publike workes, buildings, &c. out of a [b] common stock, curiously maintained and kept in repair; no depopulations, ingrossings, alterations of wood, arable, but by the consent of some supervisors, that shall be appointed for that purpose, to see what reformation ought to be had in all places, what is amiss, how to help it;

Et quid quæque ferat regio, et quid quæque recuset;

what ground is aptest for wood, what for corn, what for cattel, garden, orchyards, fish ponds, &c. with a charitable division in every village, (not one domineering house greedily to swallow up all, which is too common with us) what for lords, [c] what for tenants: and, because they shall be better incouraged to improve such lands they hold, manure, plant trees, drean, fence, &c. they shall have long leases, a known rent, and known fine, to free them from those intolerable exactions of tyrannising landlords. These supervisors shall likewise appoint what quantity of land in each mannor is fit for the lords demesnes, what for holding of tenants, how it ought to be husbanded,

([d] Ut Magnetes equis, Minyæ, gens cognita remis,)

how to be manured, tilled, rectified [e], and what proportion is fit for all callings, because private possessours are many times ideots, ill husbands, oppressours, covetous, and know not how to improve their own, or else wholly respect their own, and not publike good.

Utopian parity is a kinde of government, to be wished for, [f] rather than effected, *Respub. Christianopolitana*, Campanella's City of the Sun, and that new Atlantis, witty fictions, but meer chimeras: and Plato's community in many things is impious,

fields were common, their wooll was coarse Cornish hair: but, since inclosure, it is almost as good as Cotswol, and their sayl much mended, Tusser, c. 52. of his Husbandry, is of his opinion, one acre inclosed is worth three common. The countrey inclosed I praise: The other delighteth not me; For nothing of wealth it doth raise, &c. [a] Incredibilis navigiorum copia: nihilo pauciores in aquis quam in continenti commorantur. M. Riccius, expedit. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 3. [b] To this purpose, Arist. polit. 2. c. 6. allows a third part of their revenues, Hippodamus half. [c] In lex agraria olim Romæ. [d] Lucanus, l. 6. [e] Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ; Arborei fœtus alibi, atque injussa virescunt Gramina. Virg. 1. Georg. [f] Joh. Valent. Andreas, Lord Verulam.

absurd and ridiculous; it takes away all splendour and magnificence. I will have severall orders, degrees of nobility, and those [a] hereditary, not rejecting yonger brothers in the mean time; for they shall be sufficiently provided for by pensions, or so qualified, brought up in some honest calling, they shall be able to live of themselves. I will have such a proportion of ground belonging to every barony: he that buyes the land, shall buy the barony: he that by ryot consumes his patrimony, and antient demesnes, shall forfeit his honours. As some dignities shall be hereditary, so some again by election or gift (besides free offices, pensions, annuities) like our bishopricks, prebends, the Bassa's palaces in Turky, the [b] procurators houses, and offices in Venice, which (like the golden apple) shall be given to the worthiest and best deserving both in war and peace, as a reward of their worth and good service, as so many goals for all to aim at, *(honos alit artes)* and encouragements to others. For I hate those severe, unnaturall, harsh, German, French, and Venetian decrees, which exclude plebeians from honours: be they never so wise, rich, vertuous, valiant, and well qualified, they must not be patricians, but keep their own rank: this is *naturæ bellum inferre*, odious to God and men; I abhor it. My form of government shall be monarchical;

(————[c] nunquam libertas gratior exstat,
Quam sub rege pio, &c.)

few lawes, but those severely kept, plainly put down, and in the mother tongue, that every man may understand. Every city shall have a peculiar trade or privilege, by which it shall be chiefly maintained: [d] and parents shall teach their children, (one of three at least) bring up and instruct them in the mysteries of their own trade. In each town, these severall tradesmen shall be so aptly disposed, as they shall free the rest from danger or offence. Fire-trades, as smiths, forge-men, brewers, bakers, metal-men, &c. shall dwell apart by themselves: dyers, tanners, fel-mongers, and such as use water, in convenient places by themselves: noysome or fulsome for bad smells, as butchers slaughter-houses, chandlers, curriers, in remote places, and some back lanes. Fraternities and companies I approve of, as merchants burses, colleges of druggers, physitians, musicians, &c. but all trades to be rated in the sale of wares, as our clerks of the market do bakers and brewers;

[a] So is it in the kingdome of Naples, and France. [b] See Contarenus and Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis. [c] Claudian, l. 7. [d] Herodotus, Erato l. 6. Cum Ægyptiis Lacedæmonii in hoc congruunt, quod eorum præcones, tibicines, coqui, et reliqui artifices, in paterno artificio succedunt, et coquus a coquo gignitur, et paterno opere perseverat. Idem Marcus Polus, de Quinzay. Idem Osorius, de Emanuele rege Lusitano. Riccius, de Sinis.

corn it self, what scarcity soever shall come, not to exceed such a price. Of such wares as are transported or brought in, [a] if they be necessary, commodious, and such as nearly concern mans life, as corn, wood, cole, &c. and such provision we cannot want, I will have little or no custome paid, no taxes; but for such things as are for pleasure, delight, or ornament, as wine, spice, tobacco, silk, velvet, cloth of gold, lace, jewels, &c. a greater impost. I will have certain ships sent out for new discoveries every year, [b] and some discreet men appointed to travel into all neighbour kingdomes by land, which shall observe what artificiall inventions and good lawes are in other countreys, customes, alterations, or ought else, concerning war or peace, which may tend to the common good;—ecclesiasticall discipline, *penes episcopos*, subordinate as the other; no impropriations, no lay patrons of church-livings, or one private man, but common societies, corporations, &c. and those rectors of benefices to be chosen out of the universities, examined and approved as the *literati* in China. No parish to contain above a thousand auditors. If it were possible, I would have such priests as should imitate Christ, charitable lawyers should love their neighbours as themselves, temperate and modest physitians, politicians contemn the world, philosophers should know themselves, noblemen live honestly, tradesmen leave lying and cosening, magistrates corruption, &c. But this is impossible: I must get such as I may. I will therefore have [c] of lawyers, judges, advocates, physitians, chyrugeons, &c. a set number, [d] and every man, if it be possible, to plead his own cause, to tell that tale to the judge, which he doth to his advocate, as at Fez in Africk, Bantam, Aleppo, Raguse, *suam quisque caussam dicere tenetur*;—those advocates, chyrurgeons and [e] physitians, which are allowed, to be maintained out of the [f] common treasure; no fees to be given or taken, upon pain of losing their places; or, if they do, very small fees, and when [g] the cause is fully ended. [h] He that sues any man shall put in a pledge, which, if it be proved he hath wrongfully sued his

[a] Hippol. a Collibus, de increm. urb. c. 20. Plat. 7. de legibus. Quæ ad vitam necessaria, et quibus carere non possumus, nullum dependi vectigal, &c. [b] Plato, 12. de legibus, 40 annos natos vult, ut, si quid memorabile viderint apud exteros, hoc ipsum in rempub. recipiatur. [c] Simlerus, in Helvetiâ. [d] Sapientes caussidicos excludunt, qui caussas callide et vafre tractent et disputent. Iniquissimum censent hominem ullis obligari legibus, quæ aut numerosiores sunt quam ut perlegi queant, aut obscuriores quam ut a quovis possint intelligi. Volunt ut suam quisque caussam agat, eamque referat judici quam narraturus fuerat patrono; sic minus erit ambagum, et veritas facilius elicietur. Mor. Utop. l. 2. [e] Medici ex publico victum sumunt. Boter. l. 1 c. 5. de Ægyptiis. [f] De his, lege Patrit. l. 3. tit 8. de reip. Instit. [g] Nihil a clientibus patroni accipiant, antequam lis finita est. Basil. Argen. lib. 3. [h] It is so in most free cities in Germany.

adversary, rashly or malitiously, he shall forfeit and lose. Or else, before any sute begin, the plaintiff shall have his com plaint approved by a set delegacy to that purpose; if it be of moment, he shall be suffered, as before, to proceed; if otherwise, they shall determine it. All causes shall be pleaded *suppresso nomine*, the parties names concealed, if some circumstances do not otherwise require. Judges and other officers shall be aptly disposed in each province, villages, cities, as common arbitrators to hear causes, and end all controversies; and those not single, but three at least on the bench at once, to determine or give sentence; and those again to sit by turns or lots, and not to continue still in the same office. No controversie to depend above a year, but, without all delayes and further appeals, to be speedily dispatched, and finally concluded in that time allotted. These and all other inferiour magistrates, to be chosen [a] as the *literati* in China, or by those exact suffrages of the [b] Venetians; and such again not be eligible, or capable of magistracies, honours, offices, except they be sufficiently [c] qualified for learning, manners, and that by the strict approbation of deputed examinators: [d] first, schollars to take place, then, souldiers; for I am of Vegetius his opinion, a schollar deserves better than a souldier, because *unius ætatis sunt quæ fortiter fiunt, quæ vero pro utilitate reipub. scribuntur, æterna:* a souldiers work lasts for an age, a schollars for ever. If they [e] misbehave themselves, they shall be deposed, and ac cordingly punished; and, whether their offices be annual [f] or otherwise, once a year they shall be called in question, and give an account: for men are partial and passionate, merciless, covetous, corrupt, subject to love, hate, feare, favour, &c. *omne sub regno graviore regnum.* Like Solon's Areopagites, or those Roman censors, some shall visit others, and [g] be visited *invicem* themselves; [h] they shall oversee that no proling officer, under colour of authority, shall insult over his inferiours, as so many wild beasts, oppress, domineer, fley, grinde, or trample on, be partial or corrupt, but that there be *æquabile jus*, jus-

[a] Mat. Riccius. exped. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 5. de examinatione electionum copiose agit, &c. [b] Contar. de repub. Venet. l. 1. [c] Osor. l. 11. de reb. gest. Eman. Qui in literis maximos progressus fecerint, maximis honoribus afficiuntur; secundus honoris gradus militibus assignatur; postremi ordinis mechanicis. Doctorum hominum judiciis in altiorem locum quisque præfertur: et qui a plurimis approbatur, ampliores in rep. dignitates consequitur. Qui in hoc examine primas habet, insigni per totam vitam dignitate insignitur, marchioni similis, aut duci, apud nos. [d] Cedant arma togæ. [e] As in Berne, Locarne, Friburge in Switzerland, a vitious liver is incapable of any office; if a senatour, instantly deposed. Simlerus. [f] Not above three yeares, Arist. polit. 5. c. 8. [g] Nam quis custodiet ipsos custodes? [h] Chytræus, in Greisg-la. Qui non ex sublimi despiciant inferiores, nec ut bestias conculcent sibi subditos, auctoritatis nomini confisi, &c.

tice equally done, live as friends and brethren together; and (which [a] Sesellius would have and so much desires in his kingdome of France) *a diapason and sweet harmony of kings, princes, nobles, and plebeians, so mutually tyed and involved in love, as well as lawes and authority, as that they never disagree, insult, or incroach one upon another.* If any man deserve well in his office, he shall be rewarded;

> ——quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
> Præmia si tollas?——

He that invents any thing for publike good in any art or science, writes a treatise, [b] or performs any noble exploit at home or abroad, [c] shall be accordingly enriched, [d] honoured, and preferred. I say, with Hannibal in Ennius, *Hostem qui feriet, mihi erit Carthaginiensis:* let him be of what condition he will, in all offices, actions, he that deserves best shall have best.

Tilianus, in Philonius, (out of a charitable minde no doubt) wisht all his bookes were gold and silver, jewels and precious stones, [e] to redeem captives, set free prisoners, and relieve all poor distressed soules that wanted meanes: religiously done, I deny not; but to what purpose? Suppose this were so well done, within a little after, though a man had Crœsus wealth to bestow, there would be as many more. Wherefore I will suffer no [f] beggers, rogues, vagabonds, or idle persons at all, that cannot give an account of their lives, how they [g] maintain themselves. If they be impotent, lame, blind, and single, they shall be sufficiently maintained in several hospitals, built for that purpose; if married and infirm, past work, or, by inevitable loss or some such like misfortune, cast behind,—by distribution of [h] corn, house rent-free, annual pensions or mony, they shall be relieved, and highly rewarded for their good service they have formerly done: if able, they shall be enforced

[a] Sesellius, de rep. Gallorum lib. 1. et 2. [b] Si quis egregium aut bello aut pace perfecerit. Sesel. l. 1. [c] Ad regendam rempub. soli literati admittuntur; nec ad eam rem gratiâ magistratuum aut regis indigent; omnia ab exploratâ cujusque scientiâ et virtute pendent. Riccius, l. 1. c. 5. [d] In defuncti locum eum jussit subrogari, qui inter majores virtute reliquis præiret; non fuit apud mortales ullum excellentius certamen, aut cujus victoria magis esset expetenda; non enim inter celeres, celerrimo, non inter robustos, robustissimo, &c. [e] Nullum videres vel in hac vel in vicinis regionibus pauperem, nullum obæratum, &c. [f] Nullus mendicus apud Sinas: nemini sano, quamvis oculis orbatus sit, mendicare permittitur: omnes pro viribus laborare coguntur; cæci molis trusatilibus versandis addicuntur: soli hospitiis gaudent, qui ad labores sunt inepti. Osor. l. 11. de reb. gest. Eman. Heming. de reg. Chin. l. 1. c. 3. Gotard. Arth. Orient. Ind. descr. [g] Alex. ab Alex. 3. c. 12. [h] Sic olim Romæ. Isaac. Pontan. de his optime. Amstol. l. 2. c. 9.

to work. [a] *For I see no reason* (as [b] he said) *why an Epicure or idle drone, a rich glutton, a usurer, should live at ease, and do nothing, live in honour, in all manner of pleasures, and oppress others, when as, in the mean time, a poor labourer, a smith, a carpenter, an husbandman—that hath spent his time in continual labour, as an asse to carry burdens, to do the common-wealth good, and without whom we cannot live—shall be left in his old age to begg or starve, and lead a miserable life, worse than a jument.* As [c] all conditions shall be tyed to their task, so none shall be over-tyred, but have their set times of recreations and holydayes, *indulgere genio*, feasts and merry meetings, even to the meanest artificer, or basest servant, once a week to sing or dance, (though not all at once) or do whatsoever he shall please, (like [d] that *Sacarum festum* amongst the Persians, those Saturnalls in Rome) as well as his master. [e] If any be drunk, he shall drink no more wine or strong drink in a twelve moneth after. A bankrupt shall be [f] *cutademiatus in amphitheatro*, publikely shamed; and he that cannot pay his debts, if by ryot or negligence he have been impoverished, shall be for a twelve moneth imprisoned; if in that space his creditors be not satisfied, [g] he shall be hanged. He [h] that commits sacrilege, shall lose his hands; he that bears false-witness, or is of perjury convict, shall have his tongue cut out, except he redeem it with his head. Murder, [i] adultery, shall be punished by death, [k] but not theft, except it be some more grievous offence, or notorious offenders: otherwise they shall be condemned to the gallies, mines, be his slaves whom they offended, during their lives. I hate all hereditary slaves, and that *duram Persarum legem*, as [l] Brisonius calls it; or as

[a] Idem Aristot. pol. 5. c. 8. Vitiosum, quum soli pauperum liberi educantur ad labores, nobilium et divitum in voluptatibus et deliciis. [b] Quæ hæc injustitia, ut nobilis quispiam, aut fœnerator, qui nihil agat, lautam et splendidem vitam agat, ôtio et deliciis, quum interim auriga, faber, agricola, quo respub. carere non potest, vitam adeo miseram ducat, ut pejor quam jumentorum sit ejus conditio? Iniqua resp. quæ dat parasitis, adulatoribus inanium voluptatum artificibus, generosis et otiosis, tanta munera prodigit; at contra agricolis, carbonariis, aurigis, fabris, &c. nihil prospicit, sed eorum abusa labore florentis ætatis, fame penset et ærumnis. Mor. Utop. l. 2. [c] In Segoviâ nemo otiosus, nemo mendicus, nisi per ætatem aut morbum opus facere non potest: nulli deest unde victum quærat, aut quo se exerceat. Cypr. Echovius Delit. Hispan. Nullus Genevæ otiosus, ne septennis puer. Paulus Heuzner, Itiner. [d] Athenæus, l. 12. [e] Simlerus, de repub. Helvet. [f] Spartian. olim Romæ sic. [g] He that provides not for his family, is worse than a theef. Paul. [h] Alfredi lex. Utroque manus et lingua præcidatur, nisi eam capite redemerit. [i] Si quis nuptam stuprârit, virga virilis ei præcidatur; si mulier, nasus et auricula præcidatur. Alfredi lex. En leges ipsi Veneri Martique timendas! [k] Pauperes non peccant, quum extremâ necessitate coacti rem alienam capiunt. Maldonat. summula quæst. 8. art. 3. Ego cum illis sentio qui licere putant a divite clam accipere, qui tenetur pauperi subvenire. Emanuel Sa. Aphor. confess. [l] Lib. 2. de reg. Persarum.

[a] Ammianus, *impendio formidatas et abominandas leges, per quas, ob noxam unius, omnis propinquitas periit:* hard law, that wife and children, friends and allies should suffer for the fathers offence!

No man shall marry until he [b] be 25, no woman till she be 20, [c] *nisi aliter dispensatum fuerit.* If one [d] dye, the other party shall not marry till six moneths after; and, because many families are compelled to live niggardly, exhaust and undone by great dowers, [e] none shall be given at all, or very little, and that, by supervisors, rated: they that are fowl shall have a greater portion; if faire none at all, or very little! [f] howsoever, not to exceed such a rate as those supervisors shall think fit. And when once they come to those yeares, poverty shall hinder no man from marriage, or any other respect; [g] but all shall be rather inforced than hindered, [h] except they be [i] dismembered, or grievously deformed, infirm, or visited with some enormous hereditary disease, in body or minde: in such cases upon a great pain or mulct, [k] man or woman shall not marry; other order shall be taken for them, to their content. If people over-abound, they shall be eased by [l] colonies.

[m] No man shall wear weapons in any city. The same attire shall be kept, and that proper to severall callings, by which they shall be distinguished. [n] *Luxus funerum* shall be taken away, that intempestive expence moderated, and many others. Brokers, takers of pawnes, biting usurers, I will not admit; yet, because [o] *hic cum hominibus non cum diis agitur*, we converse here with men, not with gods, and for the hardness of mens hearts, I will tolerate some kinde of usury. If we were honest, I confess, *(si probi essemus)* we should have no use of it; but, being as it is, we must necessarily admit it. Howsoever most divines contradict it.

(Dicimus inficias; sed vox ea sola reperta est)

[a] Lib. 24. [b] Aliter Aristoteles—a man at 25, a woman at 20, polit. [c] Lex olim Lycurgi, hodie Chinensium; vide Plutarchum, Riccium, Hemmingium, Arnisæum, Nevisanum, et alios de hac quæstione. [d] Alfredus. [e] Apud Lacones olim virgines sine dote nubebant. Boter. l. 3. c. 3. [f] Lege cautum non ita pridem apud Venetos, ne quis patritius dotem excederet 1500 coron. [g] Bux. Synag. Jud. Sic Judæi. Leo Afer, Africæ descript. Ne sint aliter incontinentes, ob reipub. bonum, ut August. Cæsar, orat. ad cœlibes Romanos olim edocuit. [h] Morbo laborans, qui in prolem facile diffunditur, ne genus humanum fœdâ contagione lædatur, juventute castratur: mulieres tales procul a consortio virorum ablegantur, &c. Hector Boëthius, hist. lib. 1. de vet. Scotorum moribus. [i] Speciosissimi juvenes liberis dabunt operam. Plato 5. de legibus. [k] The Saxons exclude dumb, blind, leprous, and such like persons, from all inheritance, as we do fools. [l] Ut olim Romani, Hispani hodie, &c. [m] Riccius, lib. 11. cap. 5. de Sinarum expedit. sic Hispani cogunt Mauros arma deponere. So it is in most Italian cities. [n] Idem Plato, 12. de legibus. It hath ever been immoderate. Vide Guil. Stuckium, antiq. convival. lib. 1. cap. 26. [o] Plato, 9. de legibus.

it must be winked at by politicians. And yet some great doctours approve of it, Calvin, Bucer, Zanchius, P. Martyr, because, by so many grand lawyers, decrees of emperours, princes statutes, customes of common-wealths, churches, approbations, is permitted, &c. I will therefore allow it; but to no private persons, not to every man that will; to orphans only, maids, widows, or such as by reason of their age, sex, education, ignorance of trading, know not otherwise how to employ it; and those, so approved, not to let it out apart, but to bring their mony to a common [a] bank which shall be allowed in every city, as in Genoa, Geneva, Noremberg, Venice, at [b] 5, 6, 7, not above 8 *per centum*, as the supervisors, or *ærarii præfecti*, shall think fit. [c] And, as it shall not be lawful for each man to be an usurer that will, so shall it not be lawful for all to take up mony at use—not to prodigals and spendthrifts, but to merchants, yong tradesmen, and such as stand in need, or know honestly how to imploy it, whose necessity, cause, and condition, the said supervisors shall approve of.

I will have no private monopolies, to enrich one man, and begger a multitude—[d] multiplicity of offices, of supplying by deputies: weights and measures the same throughout, and those rectified by the *primum mobile*, and suns motion; threescore miles to a degree, according to observation; 1000 geometrical paces to a mile, five foot to a pace, twelve inches to a foot, &c. and, from measures known, it is an easie matter to rectifie weights, &c. to cast up all, and resolve bodies by algebra, stereometry.

I hate wars, if they be not *ad populi salutem*, upon urgent occasion.

Odimus accipitrem, quia semper vivit in armis.

[e] Offensive wars, except the cause be very just, I will not allow of: for I do highly magnifie that saying of Hannibal to Scipio, in [f] Livy—*It had been a blessed thing for you and us, if God had given that minde to our predecessours, that you had*

[a] As those Lombards beyond seas, (though with some reformation) mons pietatis, or bank of charity, (as Malin s terms it, cap. 33. Lex mercat. part 2.) that lend mony upon easie pawnes, or take mony upon adventure for mens lives. [b] That proportion will make merchandise increase, land dearer, and better improved, as he hath judicially proved in his tract of usury, exhibited to the Parliament anno 1621. [c] Hoc fere Zanchius, com. in 4. cap. ad Ephes. Æquissimam vocat usuram, et charitati Christianæ consentaneam, modo non exigant, &c. nec omnes dent ad fœnus, sed ii qui in pecuniis bona habent, et ob ætatem, sexum, artis alicujus ignorantiam, non possunt uti. Nec omnibus, sed mercatoribus, et iis qui honeste impendent, &c. [d] Idem apud Persas olim. Lege Brisonium. [e] Idem Plato, de legibus. [f] Lib. 30. Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem a diis datam esse, ut vos Italiæ, nos Africæ imperio contenti essemus. Neque enim Sicilia aut Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, &c.

been content with Italy, we with Africk. For neither Sicily nor Sardinia are worth such cost and pains, so many fleets and armies, or so many famous captains lives. Omnia prius tentanda; faire meanes shall first be tryed. [a] *Peragit tranquilla potestas, Quod violenta nequit.* I will have them proceed with all moderation; but (hear you!) Fabius my general, not Minutius; *nam* [b] *qui consilio nititur, plus hostibus nocet, quam qui, sine animi ratione, viribus*: and, in such wars, to abstain as much as is possible from [c] depopulations, burning of towns, massacring of infants, &c. For defensive wars, I will have forces still ready at a small warning, by land and sea, a prepared navy, souldiers *in procinctu, et, quam* [d] *Bonfinius apud Hungaros suos vult, virgam ferream*, and money, which is *nervus belli*, still in a readiness and a sufficient revenue, a third part (as in old [e] Rome and Egypt) reserved for the common-wealth; to avoid those heavy taxes and impositions, as well to defray this charge of wars, as also all other publike defalcations, expences, fees, pensions, reparations, chaste sports, feasts, donaries, rewards, and entertainments. All things in this nature especially I will have maturely done, and with great [f] deliberation: *ne quid* [g] *temere, ne quid remisse, ac timide fiat. Sed quo feror, hospes?* To prosecute the rest would require a volume. *Manum de tabellâ!* I have been over-tedious in this subject: I could have here willingly ranged; but these straits wherein I am included will not permit.

From common-wealths and cities, I will descend to families, which have as many corrosives and molestations, as frequent discontents, as the rest. Great affinity there is betwixt a politicall and œconomicall body; they differ only in magnitude and proportion of business (so Scaliger [h] writes): as they have both, likely, the same period, as [i] Bodin and [k] Peucer hold, out of Plato, six or seaven hundred yeares, so, many times, they have the same meanes of their vexation and overthrows; as, namely, ryot, a common ruine of both, ryot in building, ryot in profuse spending, ryot in apparel, &c. be it in what kinde soever, it produceth the same effects. A [l] chorographer of ours, speaking *obiter* of ancient families, why they are so frequent in the north, continue so long, are so soon extinguished in the south, and so few, gives no other reason but this, *luxus omnia*

[a] Claudian. [b] Thucydides. [c] A depopulatione agrorum, incendiis, et ejusmodi factis inimanibus. Plato. [d] Hungar. dec. 1. lib. 9. [e] Sesellius, lib. 2. de repub. Gal. Valde enim est indecorum, ubi quod præter opinionem accidit, aiere. Non putaram, præsertim si res præcaveri potuerit. Livius, lib. 1. Dion. l. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. [f] Peragit tranquilla potestas, Quod violenta nequit. Claudian. [g] Bellum nec timendum nec provocandum. Plin. Panegyr. Trajano. [h] Lib. 3. poët. cap. 18. [i] Lib. 4. de repub. cap. 2. [k] Peucer. lib. 1. de divinat. [l] Cambden, in Cheshire.

dissipavit, ryot hath consumed all. Fine cloaths and curious buildings came into this island, as he notes in his annals, not so many yeares since, *non sine dispendio hospitalitatis*, to the decay of hospitality. Howbeit, many times that word is mistaken; and, under the name of bounty and hospitality, is shrowded ryot and prodigality; and that, which is commendable in it self well used, hath been mistaken heretofore, is become, by its abuse, the bane and utter ruine of many a noble family: for some men live like the rich glutton, consuming themselves and their substance by continual feasting and invitations,—with [a] Axylos in Homer, keep open house for all comers, giving entertainment to such as visit them, [b] keeping a table beyond their meanes, and a company of idle servants (though not so frequent as of old)—are blown up on a suddain, and (as Actæon was by his hounds) devoured by their kinsmen, friends, and multitude of followers. [c] It is a wonder that Paulus Jovius relates of our northern countreys, what an infinite deal of meat we consume on our tables; that I may truly say, 'tis not bounty, not hospitality, as it is often abused, but ryot in excess, gluttony, and prodigality; a meer vice: it brings in debt, want, and beggery, hereditary diseases, consumes their fortunes, and overthrows the good temperature of their bodies. To this I might here well add their inordinate expence in building, those phantasticall houses, turrets, walks, parkes, &c. gaming, excess of pleasure, and that prodigious ryot in apparel, by which meanes they are compelled to break up house, and creep into holes. Sesellius, in his Common-wealth of [d] France, gives three reasons why the French nobility were so frequently bankrupts: *First, because they have so many law-sutes and contentions, one upon another, which were tedious and costly: by which meanes it came to pass, that commonly lawyers bought them out of their possessions. A secund cause was their ryot; they lived beyond their meanes, and were therefore swallowed up by merchants.* (La-Nove, a French writer, yeelds five reasons of his countrey-mens poverty, to the same effect almost, and thinks verily, if the gentry of France were divided into ten parts, eight of them would be found much impaired by sales, mortgages, and debts, or wholly sunk in their estates.) *The last was immoderate excess in apparel, which consumed their reve-*

[a] Iliad. 6. lib. [b] Vide Putcani Comum; Goclenium de portentosis cœnis nostrorum temporum. [c] Mirabile dictu est, quantum opsoniorum una domus singulis diebus absumat; sternuntur mensæ in omnes pene horas, calentibus semper eduliis. descript. Britan. [d] Lib. I. de rep. Gallorum. Quod tot lites et caussæ forenses aliæ ferantur ex aliis, in immensum producantur, et magnos sumptus requirant; unde fit ut juris administri plerumque nobilium possessiones adquirant, tum quod sumptuose vivant, et a mercatoribus absorbeantur, et splendidissime vestiantur, &c.

nues. How this concerns and agrees with our present state, look you. But of this elsewhere. As it is in a mans body—if either head, heart, stomach, liver, spleen, or any one part be misaffected, all the rest suffer with it—so it is with this œconomicall body: if the head be naught, a spendthrift, a drunkard, a whoremaster, a gamester, how shall the family live at ease? [a] *Ipsa, si cupiat, Salus servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam;* (as Demea said in the comœdy) Safety her self cannot save it. A good, honest, painful man many times hath a shrew to his wife—a sickly, dishonest, slothful, foolish, careless woman to his mate—a proud, peevish flurt, a liquorish prodigall quean; and by that meanes all goes to ruine: or, if they differ in nature—he is thrifty, she spends all, he wise, she sottish and soft—what agreement can there be? what friendship? Like that of the thrush and swallow in Æsop; instead of mutual love, kind compellations, whore and theef is heard; they fling stools at one anothers heads. [b] *Quæ intemperies vexat hanc familiam?* All enforced marriages commonly produce such effects; or, if on their behalfs it be well, as to live and agree lovingly together, they may have disobedient and unruly children, that take ill courses to disquiet them; [c] *their son is a theef, a spend-thrift, their daughter a whore*; a [d] stepmother, or a daughter-in-law, distempers all; [e] or else, for want of meanes, many torturers arise—debts, dues, fees, dowries, joyntures, legacies to be paid, annuities issuing out; by meanes of which, they have not wherewithall to maintain themselves in that pomp as their predecessours have done, bring up or bestow their children to their callings, to their birth and quality, [f] and will not descend to their present fortunes. Oftentimes too, to aggravate the rest, concurr many other inconveniences—unthankful friends, decayed friends, bad neighbours, negligent servants, [g] *servi furaces, versipelles, eallidi, occlusa sibi mille clavibus reseruant, furtimque raptant, consumunt, liguriunt)* casualties, taxes, mulcts, chargeable offices, vain expences, entertainments, loss of stock, enmities, emulations, frequent invitations, losses, suretyship, sickness, death of friends, and (that which is the gulf of all) improvidence, ill husbandry, disorder and confusion; by which meanes they are drenched on a suddain in their estates, and at unawares precipitated insensibly into an inextricable labyrinth of debts, cares, woes, want, griefe, discontent, and melancholy it self.

[a] Ter. [b] Amphit. Plaut. [c] Poling Filios aut fur. [d] Catus cum mure, duo galli simul in æde, et glotes binæ, nunquam vivunt sine lite. [e] Res angusta domi. [f] When pride and beggery meet in a family, they rore and howl, and cause as many flashes of discontents, as fire and water, when they concur, make thunder-claps in the skyes. [g] Plautus, Aulular.

I have done with families, and will now briefly run over some few sorts and conditions of men. The most secure, happy, joviall, and merry in the worlds esteem, are princes and great men, free from melancholy: but, for their cares, miseries, suspitions, jealousies, discontents, folly and madness, I refer you to Xenophon's Tyrannus, where king Hieron discourseth at large with Simonides the poet, of this subject. Of all others, they are most troubled with perpetuall feares, anxieties, insomuch, that (as he said in [a] Valerius) if thou knewest with what cares and miseries this robe were stuffed, thou wouldst not stoop to take it up. Or, put case they be secure and free from feares and discontents, yet they are void [b] of reason too oft, and precipitate in their actions. Read all our histories, *quas de stultis prodidere stulti*—Iliades, Æneides, Annales—and what is the subject.

Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus.

How mad they are, how furious, and upon small occasions, rash and inconsiderate in their proceedings, how they dote, every page almost will witness:

——— delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Next in place, next in miseries and discontents, in all manner of hairbrain'd actions, are great men: *procul a Jove, procul a fulmine:* the nearer, the worse. If they live in court, they are up and down, ebb and flow with their princes favours, *(Ingenium vultu statque cadítque suo)* now aloft, to-morrow down, (as [c] Polybius describes them) *like so many casting counters, now of gold, to-morrow of silver, that vary in worth as the computant will; now they stand for unites, to-morrow for thousands; now before all, and anon behind.* Beside, they torment one another with mutual factions, emulations: one is ambitious, another enamoured; a third, in debt, a prodigal, over-runs his fortunes; a fourth, solicitous with cards, gets nothing, &c. But, for these mens discontents, anxieties, I refer you to Lucian's tract, *de mercede conductis*, [d] Æneas Sylvius, *(libidinis et stultitiæ servos*, he calls them) Agrippa, and many others.

Of philosophers and schollars, *priscæ sapientiæ dictatores*, I have already spoken in general termes. Those superintendents of wit and learning, men above men, those refined men, minions of the Muses,

[a] Lib. 7. cap. 6. [b] Pellitur in bellis sapientia; vi geritur res. Vetus proverbium. Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere. [c] Lib. 1. hist. Rom. Similes abaculorum calculis, secundùm computantis arbitrium, modo ærei sunt, modo aurei; ad nutum regis, nunc beati sunt, nunc miseri. [d] Æneamosique Bolonet. in Sa. 3. De miser. curialium.

——— [a] mentemque habere queis bonam,
Et esse [b] corculis, datum est,———

[c] these accute and subtil sophisters, so much honoured, have as much need of hellebor as others.

——— O medici, mediam pertundite venam.

Read Lucian's Piscator, and tell how he esteemed them; Agrippa's tract of the Vanity of Sciences; nay read their own workes, their absurd tenents, prodigious paradoxes, *et risum teneatis, amici?* You shall finde that of Aristotle true, *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ;* they have a worm, as well as others: you shall finde a phantasticall strain, a fustian, a bumbast, a vainglorious humour, an affected style, &c. like a prominent thred in an uneven woven cloth, run parallel throughout their workes; and they that teach wisdome, patience, meekness, are the veryest dizards, hairbrains, and most discontent. [d] *In the multitude of wisdome is griefe; and he that encreaseth wisdome encreaseth sorrow.* I need not quote mine author. They that laugh and contemn others, condemn the world of folly, deserve to be mocked, are as giddy-headed, and lye as open, as any other. [e] Democritus, that common flouter of folly, was ridiculous himself: barking Menippus, scoffing Lucian, satyricall Lucilius, Petronius, Varro, Persius, &c. may be censured with the rest; *Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.* Bale, Erasmus, Hospinian, Vives, Kemnisius, explode, as a vast ocean of Obs and Sols, school divinity; [f] a labyrinth of intricable questions, unprofitable contentions: *incredibilem delirationem*, one calls it. If school divinity be so censured, *subtilis* [g] *Scotus lima veritatis, Occam irrefragabilis, cujus ingenium vetera omnia ingenia subvertit, &c.* Baconthrope, *Doctor Resolutus*, and *Corculum Theologiæ*, Thomas himself, *Doctor* [h] *Seraphicus, cui dictavit Angelus, &c.* what shall become of humanity? *Ars stulta*, what can she plead? what can her followers say for themselves? Much learning [i] *cere-diminuit-brum*, hath crackt their skouce, and taken such root, that *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*, hellebor it self can do no good, nor that renowned [k] lanthern of Epictetus, by which if any man studied, he should be as wise as he was. But all will not serve. Rhetoricians, *in ostentationem loquacitatis, multa agitant*—out of their volubility of tongue, will talk much to

[a] F. Donsa Epid. lib. 1. c. 13. [b] Hoc cognomento ecclesiasti Romæ, qui cæteros mortales sapientiâ præstarent. Testis Plin. lib. 7. cap. 34. [c] Insanire parent certâ ratione modoque: mad by the book, they. [d] Juvenal. [e] Salomon. [f] Communis irrisor stultitiæ. [g] Wit, whither wilt? [h] Scaliger, exercitat. 324. [i] Vit. ejus. [k] Ennius. [l] Lucian. Ter mille drachmis olim empta; studens inde sapientiam adipisceretur.

no purpose. Oratours can perswade other men what they will, *quo volunt, unde volunt*, move, pacifie, &c. but cannot setle their own brains. What saith Tully? *Malo indisertam prudentiam, quam loquacem stultitiam*; and (as [a]Seneca secunds him) a wise mans oration should not be polite or solicitous. [b]Fabius esteems no better of most of them, either in speech, action, gesture, than as men beside themselves, *insanos declamatores*; so doth Gregory; *non mihi sapit qui sermone, sed qui factis, sapit*. Make the best of him, a good oratour is a turn-coat, an evil man; *bonus orator pessimus vir*; his tongue is set to sale; he is a meer voyce (as [c]he said of a nightingal); *dat sine mente sonum*; an hyperbolicall lyar, a flatterer, a parasite, and (as [d]Ammianus Marcellinus will) a corrupting cosener, one that doth more mischiefe by his faire speeches, than he that bribes by mony; for a man may with more facility avoid him that circumvents by mony, than him that deceives with glosing terms; which made [e]Socrates so much abhor and explode them. [f]Fracastorius, a famous poet, freely grants all poets to be mad; so doth [g]Scaliger; and who doth not? (*Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit, Hor. Sat.* 7. *l.* 2. *Insanire lubet, i. e. versus componere, Virg. Ecl.* 3. So Servius interprets) all poets are mad, a company of bitter satyrists, detractours, or else parasitical applauders: and what is poetry itself, but (as Austin holds) *vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum?* You may give that censure of them in general, which Sir Thomas More once did of Germanus Brixius poems in particular.

——————vehuntur
In rate stultitiæ: sylvam habitant Furiæ.

Budæus, in an epistle of his to Lupsetus, will have civil law to be the towre of wisdome: another honours physick, the quintessence of nature; a third tumbles them both down, and sets up the flag of his own peculiar science. Your supercilious criticks, grammatical trifiers, note-makers, curious antiquaries, finde out all the ruines of wit, *ineptiarum delicias*, amongst the rubbish of old writers: [h]*pro stultis habent, nisi aliquid sufficiant invenire, quod in aliorum scriptis vertant vitio:* all fools with them that cannot finde fault: they correct others, and are hot in a cold cause, puzzle themselves to finde out how many streets in Rome, houses, gates, towres, Ho-

[a] Epist. 21. 1. lib. Non oportet orationem sapientis esse politam aut solicitam. [b] Lib. 3. cap. 19. Multo anhelitu, jactatione, flatentes, pectus, frontem cædentes, &c. [c] Lipsius. Voces sunt, præterea nihil. [d] Lib. 30. Plus mali facere videtur qui oratione quam qui pretio quemvis corrumpit: nam, &c. [e] In Gorg. Platonis. [f] In Naugerio. [g] Si furor sit Lyæus, &c. quoties furit, furit, furit, amens, bibens, et potus, &c. [h] Morus, Utop. lib. 11.

mer's countrey, Æneas mother, Niobe's daughters, *an Sappho publica fuerit? ovum* [a]*prius extiterit, an gallina? &c. et alia, quæ dediscenda essent, si scirem*, as [b]Seneca holds—what cloathes the senatours did wear in Rome, what shews, how they sate, where they went to the close-stool, how many dishes in a mess, what sauce; which, for the present, for an historian to relate, (according to Lodovic. Vives) is very ridiculous, is to them most pretious elaborate stuffe, they admired for it, and as proud, as triumphant in the mean time for this discovery, as if they had won a city, or conquered a province; as rich as if they had found a mine of gold ore. *Quosvis auctores absurdis commentis suis percacant et stercorant*, one saith: they bewray and dawb a company of bookes and good authors, with their absurd comments, *(correctorum sterquilinia* [d]Scaliger calls them) and shew their wit in censuring others,—a company of foolish note-makers, humble bees, dors or beetles; *inter stercora ut plurimum versantur*, they rake over all those rubbish and dunghils, and prefer a manuscript many times before the Gospel itself, [c]*thesaurum criticum*, before any treasure, and with their *deleaturs, alii legunt sic, meus codex sic habet*, with their *postremæ editiones*, annotations, castigations, &c. make bookes dear, themselves ridiculous, and do no body good: yet, if any man dare oppose or contradict, they are mad, up in arms on a suddain; how many sheets are written in defence, how bitter invectives, what apologies? [f]*Epiphyllides hæ sunt et mere nugæ.* But I dare say no more of, for, with, or against them, because I am liable to their lash, as well as others. Of these and the rest of our artists and philosophers, I will generally conclude, they are a kinde of mad-men, (as [g]Seneca esteems of them) to make doubts and scruples, how to read them truly, to mend old authors, but will not mend their own lives, or teach us *ingenia sanare, memoriam officiorum ingerere, ac fidem in rebus humanis retinere*, to keep our wits in order, or rectifie our manners. *Numquid tibi non demens videtur, si istis operam impenderit?* is not he mad that draws lines with Archimedes, whiles his house is ransacked, and his city besieged, when the whole world is in combustion,—or we, whiles our soules are in danger, *(mors sequitur, vita fugit)* to spend our time in toyes, idle questions, and things of no worth?

That [h]lovers are mad, I think no man will deny. *Amare simul et sapere ipsi Jovi non datur*: Jupiter himself cannot intend both at once,

[a] Macrob. Satur. 7. 16. [b] Epist. 16. [c] Lib. de caussis corrup. artium. [d] Lib. 2. in Ausonium, cap. 19. et 32. [e] Edit. 7. volum. Iano Gruter. [f] Aristophanis, Ranæ. [g] Lib. de beneficiis. [h] Deliros et amentes dicatur merito. Hor. Seneca.

[a] Non bene conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur,
Majestas et amor.

Tullie, when he was invited to a secund marriage, replyed, he could not *simul amare et sapere*, be wise and love both together. [b] *Est Orcus ille; vis est immedicabilis; est rabies insana:* love is madness, a hell, an incurable disease; *impotentem et insanam libidinem* [c] Seneca calls it, an impotent and raging lust. I shall dilate this subject apart: in the mean time let lovers sigh out the rest.

[d] Nevisanus the lawyer holds it for an axiome, *most women are fools, (*[e] *consilium feminis invalidum)* Seneca, men, be they yong or old; who doubts it? youth is mad, as Elius in Tullie, *Stulti adolescentuli*, old age little better, *deliri senes, &c.* Theophrastus, in the 107 year of his age, [f] said he then began to be wise, *tum sapere cæpit*, and therefore lamented his departure. If wisdome come so late, where shall we finde a wise man? our old ones dote at threescore and ten. I would cite more proofs and a better author; but for the present, let one fool point at another. [g] Nevisanus hath as hard an opinion of rich [h] men—*wealth and wisdome cannot dwell together; stultitiam patiuntur opes;* [i] and they do commonly [k] *infatuare cor hominis*, besot men; and, as we see it, *fools have fortune:* [l] *sapientia non invenitur in terrâ suaviter viventium.* For, besides a naturall contempt of learning, which accompanies such kinde of men, innate idleness, (for they will take no pains) and which [m] Aristotle observes, *ubi mens plurima, ibi minima fortuna; ubi plurima fortuna, ibi mens perexigua;* great wealth and little wit go commonly together: they have as much brains, some of them, in their heads as in their heels; besides this inbred neglect of liberall sciences, and all arts, which should *excolere mentem*, polish the minde, they have most part some gullish humour or other, by which they are led; one is an Epicure, an atheist, a secund a gamester, a third a whoremaster, (fit subjects all for a satyrist to work upon)

—— [n] Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum;—

[o] one is mad of hawking, hunting, cocking; another of carousing, horse-riding, spending; a fourth, of building, fighting, &c.

[a] Ovid. Met. [b] Plutarch. Amatorio est amor insanus. [c] Epist. 59. [d] Sylvæ nuptialis l. 1. num. 11. Omnes mulieres, ut plurimum, stultæ. [e] Aristotle. [f] Dolere se dixit, quod tum vitâ egrederetur. [g] Lib. 1. num. 14. sapientia et divitiæ vix simul possideri possunt. [h] They get their wisdome by eating pie-crust, some. [i] Χρηματα τοις δνηποις γινεται αφροσυνη. Opes quidem mortalibus sunt amentia. Theognis. [k] Fortuna, nimium quem fovet, stultum facit. [l] Joh. 28. [m] Mag. moral. lib. 2. et lib. 1. sat 4. [n] Hor. ser. 1. sat. 4. [o] Insana gula, insanæ obstructiones, insanum venandi studium—Discordia demens, Virg. Æn.

Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo;

Damasippus hath an humour of his own, to be talkt of; [a] Heliodorus the Carthaginian, another. In a word, as Scaliger concludes of them all, they are *statuæ erectæ stultitiæ*, the very statues or pillars of folly. Chuse out of all stories, him that hath been most admired; you shall still finde *multa ad laudem, multa ad vituperationem magnifica*, as [b] Berosus of Semiramis: *omnes mortales militiâ, triumphis, divitiis, &c. tum et luxu, cæde, cæterisque vitiis, antecessit:* as she had some good, so had she many bad parts.

Alexander, a worthy man, but furious in his anger, overtaken in drink: Cæsar and Scipio valiant and wise, but vainglorious, ambitious: Vespasian a worthy prince, but covetous: [c] Hannibal as he had mighty vertues, so had he many vices; *unam virtutem mille vitia comitantur*, as Machiavel of Cosmus Medices, he had two distinct persons in him. I will determine of them all, they are like those double or turning pictures; stand before which, you see a faire maid on the one side, an ape on the other, an owle: look upon them at the first sight, all is well; but farther examine, you shall finde them wise on the one side, and fools on the other; in some few things praise-worthy, in the rest incomparably faulty. I will say nothing of their diseases, emulations, discontents, wants, and such miseries; let Poverty plead the rest in Aristophanes Plutus.

Covetous men, amongst others, are most mad; [d] they have all the symptomes of melancholy—feare, sadness, suspition, &c. as shall be proved in his proper place:

Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avaris.

And yet me thinks, prodigals are much madder than they, be of what condition they will, that bear a publike, or private purse; as a [e] Dutch writer censured Richard the rich Duke of Cornwal, suing to be emperour, for his profuse spending, *qui effudit pecuniam ante pedes principum electorum sicut aquam*, that scattered mony like water; I do censure them. *Stulta Anglia*, (saith he) *quæ tot denariis sponte est privata; stulti principes Alemaniæ, qui nobile jus suum pro pecuniâ vendiderunt.* Spend-thrifts, bribers, and bribe-takers, are fools; and so are [f] all they that cannot keep, disburse, or spend, their monys well.

[a] Heliodorus Carthaginiensis ad extremum orbis sarcophago testamento me hic jussi condier, ut viderem an quis insanior ad me visendum usque ad hæc loca penetraret. Ortelius, in Gad. [b] If it be his work; which Gasper Veretus suspects. [c] Livy. Ingentes virtutes; ingentia vitia. [d] rlor. Quisquis ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore; Quisquis luxuriâ, tristique superstitione. Per. [e] Chronica Slavonica, ad annum 1257. de cujus pecuniâ jam incredibilia dixerunt. [f] A fool and his mony are soon parted.

I might say the like of angry, peevish, envious, ambitious (*[a] Anticyras melior sorbere meracas*), Epicures, atheists, schismaticks, hereticks: *hi omnes habent imaginationem laesam* (saith Nymannus); *and their madness shall be evident*, 2 Tim. 3. 9. [b] Fabatus, an Italian, holds sea-faring men all mad; *the ship is mad, for it never stands still: the marriners are mad, to expose themselves to such imminent dangers: the waters are raging mad, in perpetual motion: the windes are as mad as the rest: they know not whence they come, whither they would go: and those men are maddest of all, that go to sea; for one fool at home, they finde forty abroad.* He was a mad man that said it; and thou, peradventure, as mad, to read it. [c] Felix Platerus is of opinion all alchymists are mad, out of their wits; [d] Athenæus saith as much of fidlers, *et Musarum luscinias*, [e] musicians; *omnes tibicines insaniunt; ubi semel efflant, avolat illico mens*; in comes musick at one ear; out goes wit at another. Proud and vain-glorious persons are certainly mad; and so are [f] lascivious; I can feel their pulses beat hither: horn-mad some of them, to let others lye with their wives, and wink at it.

To insist [g] in all particulars, were an Herculean task, to [h] reckon up [i] *insanas substructiones, insanos labores, insanum luxum*, mad labours, mad bookes, endeavours, carriages, gross ignorance, ridiculous actions, absurd gestures, *insanam gulam, insaniam villarum, insana jurgia*, as Tullie terms them, madness of villages, stupend structures, as those Ægyptian pyramids, labyrinths and Sphinges, which a company of crowned asses, *ad ostentationem opum*, vainly built, when neither the architect nor king that made them, or to what use and purpose, are yet known. To insist in their hypocrisie, inconstancy, blindness, rashness, *dementem temeritatem*, fraud, cosenage, malice, anger, impudence, ingratitude, ambition, gross superstition, [k] *tempora infecta et adulatione sordida*, as in Tiberius times, such base flattery, stupend, parasitical fawning and colloguing, &c. brawls, conflicts, desires, contentions, it would ask an expert Vesalius to anatomize every member. Shall I say? Jupiter himself, Apollo, Mars, &c. doted: and monster-conquering Hercules, that subdued the world, and helped others, could not

[a] Orat. de imag.—Ambitiosus et audax naviget Anticyras. [b] Navis stulta, quæ continuo movetur; nautæ stulti, qui se periculis exponunt; aqua insana, quæ sic fremit, &c. aër jactatur, &c. qui mari se committit, stolidum unum terrâ fugiens 40 mari invenit. Gasper Eus. Moros. [c] Cap. de alien. mentis. [d] Dipnosophist. lib. 8. [e] Tibicines mente capti. Erasm. Chil. 4. cen. 7. [f] Prov. 30. Insana libido.—Hic, rogo, non furor est? non est hæc mentula demens? Mart. ep. 74. l. 3. [g] Mille puellarum et puerorum mille furores. [h] Uter est insanior horum? Hor. Ovid. Virg. Plin. [i] Plin. lib. 36. [k] Tacitus, 3 Annal.

relieve himself in this; but mad he was at last. And where shall a man walk, converse with whom, in what province, city, and not meet with Signior Deliro, or Hercules Furens, Mænades, and Corybantes? Their speeches say no less. [a] *E fungis nati homines*; or else they fetched their pedigree from those that were struck by Sampson with the jaw-bone of an asse, or from Deucalion and Pyrrha's stones; for *durum genus sumus* [b] *marmorei sumus*; we are stony-hearted, and savour too much of the stock, as if they had all heard that inchanted horn of Astolpho (that English duke in Ariosto), which never sounded but all his auditors were mad, and for feare ready to make away themselves; [c] or landed in the mad haven in the Euxine sea of *Daphnis insana*, which had a secret quality to dementate; they are a company of giddy-heads, afternoon-men; it is midsomer-moon still, and the dog-dayes last all the year long: they are all mad. Whom shall I then except? Ulricus Huttenus [d] *Nemo; nam Nemo omnibus horis sapit; Nemo nascitur sine vitiis; crimine Nemo caret; Nemo sorte suâ vivit contentus; Nemo in amore sapit; Nemo bonus; Nemo sapiens; Nemo est ex omni parte beatus, &c.* and therefore Nicholas Nemo, or Monsieur Nobody, shall go free: *Quid valeat nemo, nemo referre potest.* But whom shall I except in the secund place? such as are silent: *vir sapit, qui pauca loquitur*; [e] no better way to avoid folly and madness, than by taciturnity. Whom in a third? all senatours, magistrates; for all fortunate men are wise, and conquerours valiant, and so are all great men; *non est bonum ludere cum diis*; they are wise by authority, good by their office and place; *his licet impune pessimos esse*, (some say) we must not speak of them; neither is it fit; *per me sint omnia protinus alba*; I will not think amiss of them. Whom next? Stoicks? *Sapiens Stoïcus*; and he alone is subject to no perturbations, (as [f] Plutarch scoffs at him) *he is not vexed with torments, or burnt with fire, foyled by his adversary, sold of his enemy. Though he be wrinkled, sand-blind, toothless, and deformed; yet he is most beautiful, and like a god, a king in conceit, though not worth a groat. He never dotes, never mad, never sad, drunk; because vertue cannot be taken*

[a] Ovid. 7. met. E fungis nati homines, ut olim Corinthi primævi illius loci accolæ, quia stolidi et fatui fungis nati dicebantur. Idem et alibi dicas. [b] Famian. Strada, de bajulis, de marmore semisculptis. [c] Arrianus, periplo maris Euxini, portus ejus meminit, et Gillius l. 3. de Bosphor. Thracio. Et laurus insana, quæ, allata in convivium, convivas omnes insaniâ affecit. Guliel. Stucchius, comment, &c. [d] Lepidum poëma, sic inscriptum. [e] Stultitiam dissimulare non potest, nisi taciturnitate. [f] Extortus, non cruciatur; ambustus, non læditur; prostratus in luctâ, non vincitur; non fit captivus, ab hoste venundatus. Et si rugosus, senex, edentulus, luscus, deformis, formosus tamen, et deo similis, felix, dives, rex, nullius egens, etsi denario non sit dignus.

away (as [a] Zeno holds) *by reason of strong apprehension:* but he was mad to say so. [b] *Anticyræ cælo huic est opus aut dolabrâ:* he had need to be bored, and so had all his fellows, as wise as they would seem to be. Chrysippus himself liberally grants them to be fools as well others, at certain times, upon some occasions; *amitti virtutem ait per ebrietatem, aut atribilarium morbum:* it may be lost by drunkenness or melancholy; he may be sometimes crazed as well as the rest: [c] *ad summam, sapiens, nisi quum pituita molesta.* I should here except some cynicks, Menippus, Diogenes, that Theban Crates, or, to descend to these times, that omniscious, only wise fraternity [d] of the Rosie Cross, those great theologues, politicians, philosophers, physitians, philologers, artists, &c. of whom S[t]. Bridget, Albas Jacchimus, Leicenbergius, and such divine spirits, have prophesied, and made promise to the world, if at least there be any such, (Hen. [e] Neuhusius makes a doubt of it, [f] Valentinus Andreas, and others) or an Elias Artifex their Theophrastian master; whom though Libavius and many deride and carp at, yet some will have to be *the* [g] *renewer of all arts and sciences,* reformer of the world, and now living; for so Johannes Montanus Strigoniensis (that great patron of Paracelsus) contends, and certainly avers [h] *a most divine man,* and the quintessence of wisdome wheresoever he is; for he, his fraternity, friends, &c. are all [i] *betrothed to wisdome,* if we may beleeve their disciples and followers. I must needs except Lipsius and the pope, and expunge their name out of the catalogue of fools: for, besides that parasitical testimony of Dousa,

> A Sole exoriente, Mœotidas usque paludes,
> Nemo est, qui Justo se æquiparare queat—

Lipsius saith of himself, that he was [k] *humani generis quidam pædagogus voce et stylo,* a grand signior, a master, a tutour of us all; and for thirteen yeares, he brags, how he sowed wisdome in the Low Countreys, (as Ammonius the philosopher sometimes did in Alexandria) [l] *cum humanitate literas, et sapientiam cum prudentiâ: antistes sapientiæ,* he shall be *sapientum octavus.* The pope is more than a man, as [m] his parrots often make him—a demi-god; and besides his holiness cannot err *in cathedrâ* belike: and yet some of them have been

[a] Illum contendunt non injuriâ affici, non insaniâ, non inebriari, quia virtus non eripitur ob constantes comprehensiones. Lips. Phys. Stoic. lib. 3. diff. 18. [b] Tarreus Hebus, epig. 102. l. 8. [c] Hor. [d] Fratres sanct. Rosæ Crucis. [e] An sint, quales sint, unde nomen illud asciverint. [f] Turri Babel. [g] Omnium artium et scientiarum instaurator. [h] Divinus ille vir, auctor notarum in ep. Rog. Bacon, ed. Hambur. 1608. [i] Sapientiæ desponsati. [k] Solus hic est sapiens, alii volitant velut umbræ. [l] In ep. ad Balthas. Moretum. [m] Rejectiunculæ ad Patavum. Felinus cum reliquis.

magicians, hereticks, atheists, children; and, as Platina saith of John 22, *Et si vir literatus, multa stoliditatem et levitatem præ se ferentia egit, stolidi et socordis vir ingenii*; a schollar sufficient; yet many things he did foolishly. Lightly I can say no more in particular, but in general terms to the rest, they are all mad, their wits are evaporated, and (as Ariosto feigns, l. 34) kept in jars above the moon.

> Some lose their wits with love, some with ambition,
> Some, following [a] lords and men of high condition.
> Some, in faire jewells rich and costly set,
> Others in poetry, their wits forget.
> Another thinks to be an alchymist,
> Till all be spent, and that his number's mist.

Convict fools they are, mad men upon record; and, I am afraid, past cure, many of them; [b] *crepunt ingenia*; the symptomes are manifest; they are all of Gotam parish:

> [c] Quum furor haud dubius, quum sit manifestâ phrenesis,

what remains then [d] but to send for lorarios, those officers to carry them all together for company to Bedlam, and set Rabelais to be their physitian.

If any man shall ask in the mean time, who I am, that so boldy censure others, *tu nullane habes vitia?* Have I no faults? [e] Yes, more than thou hast, whatsoever thou art. *Nos numerus sumus:* I confess it again, I am as foolish, as mad as any one.

> [f] Insanus vobis videor: non deprecor ipse,
> Quo minus insanus———

I do not denye it; *demens de populo dematur*. My comfort is, I have more fellows, and those of excellent note. And though I be not so right or so discreet as I should be, yet not so mad, so bad neither, as thou perhaps takest me to be.

To conclude, this being granted, that all the world is melancholy, or mad, dotes, and every member of it, I have ended my task, and sufficiently illustrated that which I took upon me to demonstrate at first. At this present I have no more to say. *His sanam mentem Democritus*; I can but wish my self and them a good physitian, and all of us a better minde.

[a] Magnum virum sequi est sapere, *some think: others*, desipere. Catul. [b] Plaut. Menæch. [c] In Sat. 14. [d] Or to send for a cook to the Anticyræ, to make hellebor pottage, settle-brain pottage. [e] Aliquantulum tamen inde me solabor, quod unà cum multis et sapientibus et celeberrimis viris ipse insipiens sim; quod de se Menippus Luciani in Necyomantiâ. [f] Petronius, in Catalect.

And although, for the abovenamed reasons, I had a just cause to undertake this subject, to point at these particular species of dotage, that so men might acknowledge their imperfections, and seek to reform what is amiss; yet I have a more serious intent at this time; and—*to omit all impertinent digressions*—to say no more of such as are improperly melancholy, or metaphorically mad, lightly mad, or in disposition, as stupid, angry, drunken, silly, sottish, sullen, proud, vain-glorious, ridiculous, beastly, peevish, obstinate, impudent, extravagant, dry, doting, dull, desperate, harebrain'd, &c. mad, frantick, foolish, heteroclites, which no new [a]hospitall can hold, no physick help—my purpose and endeavour is, in the following discourse, to anatomize this humour of melancholy, through all his parts and species, as it is an habit, or an ordinary disease, and that philosophically, medicinally—to shew the causes, symptoms, and severall cures of it, that it may be the better avoided; moved thereunto for the generality of it, and to do good, it being a disease so frequent, as [b]Mercurialis observes, *in these our dayes; so often happening*, saith [c]Laurentius, *in our miserable times*, as few there are that feel not the smart of it. Of the same minde is Ælian Montaltus, [d]Melanchthon, and others; [e]Julius Cæsar Claudinus calls it the *fountain of all other diseases, and so common in this crazed age of ours, that scarce one of a thousand is free from it*; and that splenetick hypochondriacal winde especially, which proceeds from the spleen and short ribs. Being then it is a disease so grievous, so common, I know not wherein to do a more generall service, and spend my time better, than to prescribe meanes how to prevent and cure so universal a malady, an epidemicall disease, that so often, so much, crucifies the body and minde.

If I have over-shot my self in this which hath been hitherto said, or that it is (which I am sure some will object) too phantasticall, *too light and comicall for a divine, too satyricall for one of my profession*, I will presume to answer with [f]Erasmus, in like case, 'Tis not I, but Democritus; *Democritus dixit:* you must consider what it is to speak in ones own or anothers person, an assumed habit and name; a difference betwixt him that affects or acts a princes, a philosophers, a magistrates, a fools part, and him that is so indeed; and what

[a] That, I mean, of Andr. Vale. Apolog. mancip. l. 1. et 26. Apol. [b] Hæc affectio nostris temporibus frequentissima. [c] Cap. 15. de Mel. [d] De animâ. Nostro hoc sæculo morbus frequentissimus. [e] Consult. 98. Adeo nostris temporibus frequenter ingruit, ut nullus fere ab ejus labe immunis reperiatur, et omnium fere morborum occasio existat. [f] Mor. Encom. Si quis calumnietur levius esse quam decet theologum, aut mordacius quam decet Christianum.

liberty those old satyrists have had: it is a cento collected from others; not I, but they, that say it.

[a] Dixero si quid forte jocosius, hoc mihi juris
Cum veniâ dabis———

Take heed you mistake me not. *If I do a little forget my self*, I hope you will pardon it. And, to say truth, why should any man be offended, or take exceptions at it?

——————— Licuit, semperque licebit,
Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.

It lawful was of old, and still will be,
To speak of vice, but let the name go free.

I hate their vices, not their persons. If any be displeased or take ought unto himself, let him not expostulate or cavil with him that said it (so did [b]Erasmus excuse himself to Dorpius, *si parvi licet componere magnis*; and so do I): *but let him be angry with himself, that so betrayed and opened his own faults in applying it to himself.* [c]*If he be guilty and deserve it, let him amend, whosoever he is, and not be angry. He that hateth correction is a fool*, Prov. 12. 1. If he be not guilty, it concerns him not; it is not my freeness of speech, but a guilty conscience, a galled back of his own, that makes him winch.

Suspicione si quis errabit suâ,
Et rapiet ad se, quod erit commune omnium,
Stulte nudabit animi conscientiam.

I denye not, this, which I have said, savours a little of Democritus. [d]*Quamvis ridentem, dicere verum quid vetat?* one may speak in jest, and yet speak truth. It is somewhat tart, I grant it: *acriora orexim excitant embammata*, as he said; sharp sauces increase appetite;

[e] Nec cibus ipse juvat, morsu fraudatus aceti.

Object then and cavil what thou wilt, I ward all with [f]Democritus buckler; his medicine shall salve it; strike where thou wilt, and when: *Democritus dixit*; Democritus will answer it. It was written by an idle fellow, at idle times, about our Saturnalian or Dionysian feast, when, as he said, *nullum libertati periculum est*, servants in old Rome had liberty to say and do what them list. When our countrey-men sacrificed

[a] Hor. Sat. 4. 4. 1. [b] Epist. ad Dorpium de Moriâ. Si quispiam offendatur, et sibi vindicet, non habet quod expostulet cum eo qui scripsit; ipse, si volet, secum agat injuriam, utpote sui proditor, qui declaravit hoc ad se proprie pertinere. [c] Si quis se læsum clamabit, aut conscientiam prodit suam, aut certe metum. Phæd. 1. 3. Æsop. Fab. [d] Hor. [e] Mart. l. 7. 22. [f] Ut lubet, feriat; abstergam hos ictus Democriti pharmaco.

to their goddess [a]Vacuna, and sat tipling by their Vacunal fires, I writ this, and published this. Ουτις ἀνηρ· it is *neminis nihil*. The time, place, persons, and all circumstances, apologize for me; and why may I not then be idle with others? speak my minde freely? If you denye me this liberty, upon these presumptions I will take it: I say again, I will take it.

> [b]Si quis est, qui dictum in se inclementius
> Existimabit esse, sic existimet.

If any man take exceptions, let him turn the buckle of his girdle; I care not. I owe thee nothing, reader: I look for no favour at thy hands; I am independent; I feare not.

No, I recant; I will not; I care; I feare; I confess my fault, acknowledge a great offence;

> ——— motos præstat componere fluctus:

I have overshot my self; I have spoken foolishly, rashly, unadvisedly, absurdly; I have anatomized mine own folly. And now, methinks, upon a suddain I am awaked as it were out of a dream; I have had a raving fit, a phantasticall fit, ranged up and down, in and out; I have insulted over most kinde of men, abused some, offended others, wronged my self; and now, being recovered, and perceiving mine errour, cry with [c]Orlando, *Solvete mi.* Pardon *(O boni!)* that which is past; and I will make you amends in that which is to come: I promise you a more sober discourse in my following treatise.

If, through weakness, folly, passion, [d]discontent, ignorance, I have said amiss, let it be forgotten and forgiven. I acknowledge that of [e]Tacitus to be true, *Asperæ facetiæ, ubi nimis ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt:* a bitter jest leaves a sting behind it; and, as an honourable man observes, [f]*They feare a satyrists wit, he their memories.* I may justly suspect the worst; and, though I hope I have wronged no man, yet, in Medea's words, I will crave pardon,

> ———Illud jam voce extremâ peto,
> Ne, si qua noster dubius effudit dolor,
> Maneant in animo verba; sed melior tibi
> Memoria nostri subeat; hæc iræ data
> Obliterentur———

[a] Rusticorum dea præesse vacantibus et otiosis putabatur, cui post labores agricola sacrificabat. Plin. l. 3. c. 12. Ovid. l. 6. Fast. Jam quoque cum fiunt antiquæ sacra Vacunæ, Ante Vacunales stantque sedentque focos. Rosinus. [b] Ter. prol. Eunuch. [c] Ariost. l. 39. St. 58. [d] Ut enim ex studiis gaudium, sic studia ex hilaritate proveniunt. Plinius Maximo suo, ep. lib. 8. [e] Annal. 15. [f] Sir Francis Bacon in his Essayes, now Viscount St. Albanes.

And, in my last words, this I do desire,
That what in passion I have said, or ire,
May be forgotten, and a better minde
Be had of us, hereafter as you finde.

I earnestly request every private man, as Scaliger did Cardan, not to take offence. I will conclude in his lines, *Si me cognitum haberes, non solum donares nobis has facetias nostras, sed etiam indignum duceres, tam humanum animum, lene ingenium, vel minimam suspicionem deprecari oportere.* If thou knewest my [a] modesty and simplicity, thou wouldst easily pardon and forgive what is here amiss, or by thee misconceived. If hereafter, anatomizing this surly humour, my hand slip, and, as an unskilful prentice, I launce too deep, and cut through skin and all at unawares, make it smart, or cut awry, [b] pardon a rude hand, an unskilful knife; 'tis a most difficult thing to keep an even tone, a perpetual tenour, and not sometimes to lash out; *difficile est satyram non scribere*; there be so many objects to divert, inward perturbations to molest; and the very best may sometimes err; *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus:* it is impossible not in so much to overshoot:

————opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.

But what needs all this? I hope there will no such cause of offence be given; if there be,

[c] Nemo aliquid recognoscat: nos mentimur omnia.

I'll denye all (my last refuge), recant all, renounce all I have said, if any man except, and with as much facility excuse, as he can accuse: but I presume of thy good favour, and gracious acceptance, gentle reader. Out of an assured hope and confidence thereof, I will begin.

[a] Quod Probus Persii βιογεαφος virginali verecundiâ Persium fuisse dicit, ego, &c. [b] Quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura. Hor. [c] Prol. Plaut.

Lectori male feriato.

TU vero cavesis, edico, quisquis es, ne temere sugilles authorem hujusce operis, aut cavillator irrideas. Imo ne vel ex aliorum censurâ tacite obloquaris, (vis dicam verbo?) nequid nasutulus inepte improbes, aut falso fingas. Nam, si talis reverâ sit, qualem præ se fert, Junior Democritus, *seniori* Democrito *saltem affinis, aut ejus genium vel tantillum sapiat; actum de te; censorem æque ac delatorem* [a] *aget e contra* (petulanti splene cum sit); *sufflabit te in jocos, comminuet in sales, addo etiam, et* deo Risui *te sacrificabit.*

Iterum moneo, ne quid cavillere, ne (dum Democritum Juniorem *conviciis infames, aut ignominiose vituperes, de te non male sentientem) tu idem audias ab amico cordato, quod olim vulgus* Abderitanum *ab* [b] Hippocrate, *concivem bene meritum et popularem suum* Democritum *pro insano habens:* Nec tu, Democrite, sapis; stulti autem et insani Abderitæ.

[a] Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.

Hæc te paucis admonitum volo, male feriate Lector. Abi.

[a] Si me commôrit, melius non tangere, clamo. Hor. [b] Hippoc. epist. Damageto, Accersitus sum, ut Democritum, tamquam insanum, curarem: sed postquam conveni, non, per Jovem, desipientiæ negotium, sed rerum omnium receptaculum deprehendi; ejusque ingenium demiratus sum. Abderitanos vero tamquam non sanos accusavi, veratri potione ipsos potius eguisse dicens. [c] Mart.

HERACLITE, fleas! misero sic convenit ævo:
Nil nisi turpe vides, nil nisi triste vides.
Ride etiam, quantumque lubet, Democrite, ride:
Non nisi vana vides, non nisi stulta vides,
Is fletu, hic risu, modo gaudeat; unus utrique
Sit licet usque labor, sit licet usque dolor.
Nunc opus est (nam totus, eheu! jam desipit orbis)
Mille Heraclitis, milleque Democritis.
Nunc opus est (tanta est insania) transeat omnis
Mundus in Anticyras, gramen in Helleborum.